

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CONQUEST
OF
MEXICO
BY THE
SPANIARDS.

Translated into ENGLISH from the
Original SPANISH of
Don ANTONIO DE SOLIS,
SECRETARY and HISTORIOGRAPHER
To His Catholick Majesty,
By THOMAS TOWNSEND, Esq;
Late Lieutenant Colonel in Brig. Gen. Newton's Regiment.

The whole Translation Revised and Corrected
By NATHANAEL HOOKE, Esq;
Translator of *The Travels of CYRUS*, and *The Life of*
the Archbishop of CAMBRAY.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

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the *Two Temple-Gates*; and H. LINTOT, at the *Cross-Keys*
against St. Dunstan's Church, in *Fleet-street*.

M DCC XXXVIII,



TO HIS GRACE

J A M E S,

DUKE of CHANDOS.

My LORD,

I BEG Leave to recommend to Your Grace's Protection the *History of* HERNAN CORTES, the Fortunate Conqueror of the *Mexican* Empire.

THE Discovery and Conquest of that new World have enriched *England* with no small Share of the Wealth of it; which makes it a Point of Gratitude in Behalf of my Country to publish the Actions of this Hero, and renders him still more worthy of Your Grace's Patronage.

My

A 2

DEDICATION.

My LORD,

I SHALL decline entring on the Subject of those Virtues and distinguishing Qualities which have shewn themselves so eminently in Your Grace, and engaged the Love and Esteem of all good Men. May You long live the Ornament of Your Country! And permit me the Honour of acknowledging publicly the many Obligations I have to Your Grace, and assuring You that I am, with an inviolable Respect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most Obedient,

And Most Faithful

Humble Servant,

Thomas Townshend

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE Conquest of MEXICO is one of the greatest Subjects in all History: It leads us through Variety of important Transactions to the Overthrow of a vast Empire, achieved by a Handful of Men under the Conduct of HERNAN CORTES, who added this inestimable Jewel to the Crown of Spain in the Time of CHARLES V.

WHOEVER will consider the Difficulties he overcame, and the Battles he fought and won against an incredible Superiority of Numbers, must own him little inferior to the most celebrated Heroes of Antiquity.

HIS History has been written by several Authors, and particularly by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, Antonio de Herrera, and Bernal Diaz del Castillo; who either took Things too much upon Trust, or were prejudic'd against him: But at length the Learned SOLIS, by erecting this Trophy to his Honour, discharged the

P R E F A C E.

Debt due from the Spanish Nation to the Memory of so illustrious a Conqueror.

THE great Actions of CORTES, and the elegant Pen of SOLIS, were the chief Motives that induced me to make him English: To which may be added, that Sir Paul Rycart having translated the Conquest of Peru from Garcillasso de la Vega, Inca, my present Work compleats the Discovery and Conquest of the American Continent.

AND notwithstanding what has been written by some concerning the Simplicity and Nakedness of the Indians, it is plain from the History of SOLIS, and contributes not a little to the Glory of CORTES, that he engaged numerous Armies, which wanted neither Courage, Conduct, nor offensive Weapons: And though some Things in the ensuing History may appear fabulous, it is nevertheless certain, that CORTES really performed more than Flattery has invented of others.

• THE Translation was the Employment of my leisure Hours in Country Quarters, in the Kingdom of Ireland: How well I have succeeded, is humbly submitted to the Judgment of the Reader.

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J. Schynvoet. invent. et fecit.



THE HISTORY

OF THE CONQUEST OF
MEXICO, OR NEW SPAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

*Shewing the NECESSITY of Dividing the
History of the Indies into different Parts,
in order to a thorough understanding of it.*

IT was my Intention, for some Time, to
continue the *General History of the
West Indies*, left by *Antonio de Har-
era* in the Year 1554. And while I persisted
in this bold Design, (the Difficulties of which
did not soon appear) I read, and carefully ob-
serv'd, what both before and since his *Decades*
had been written by our own Countrymen, or
Strangers; relating to those Discoveries and
Conquests. But as the Regions of that new
World are at so great a Distance from our He-

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misphere,

misphere, I found that the foreign Writers had been very daring, and no less malicious, to invent whatsoever they pleas'd to the Disadvantage of the *Spaniards*; spending whole Volumes in blaming the Mistakes of some particular Men, in order to darken the Glory of the worthy Actions perform'd by All in common. I observ'd likewise, that there was but little Uniformity and Agreement in the Accounts given by our own Writers: A remarkable Instance of that ordinary Danger to which Truth is expos'd, which seldom fails to be disfigur'd when transmitted from afar; as indeed every Thing, in proportion as it is carried from its Source, loses of its native Purity.

— THE Obligation I was under to disprove the former, and the Desire I had of reconciling the latter, detain'd me in the Search of Papers, and Memoirs which might serve as a Foundation to my Work: An inglorious Kind of Labour! our Time and our Application being spent in Obscurity, and unseen by the World: A Labour, however, from which no Historian can be exempted; because he is to draw the Truth, pure and unmix'd, which is the very Soul of History, out of that confus'd Medley of differing Accounts; the Care of an Author in this respect resembling that of an Architect, who, before he begins to build, first heaps together his Materials, and then from that formless Mass takes every Thing necessary to the Execution of his Design, drawing out by little and little from the Dust and Confusion of the

Storehouse

Book I. *Conquest of Mexico.*

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Storehouse the Beauties and Proportions of the Building.

BUT when, furnish'd with good Materials, I came to put my Design in Execution, I found that a General History takes in so great a Number of Facts independent upon each other, that I thought it little less than impossible to bring them together without Confusion; a Difficulty, perhaps, arising from my want of Capacity. The History of the *Indies* has for its Ground-work three great Actions, such as may vie with the greatest that former Ages have seen: The Exploits of *Christopher Columbus*, in his admirable Navigation and first Enterprizes upon the New World; the Courage and Conduct of *Hernan Cortez* in the Conquest of *New Spain*, the Bounds of whose vast Regions are still unknown; and the Labours of *Francisco Pizarro*, and of his Successors, who subdued that most extensive Empire of *South America*, a Theatre of various Tragedies and surprizing Novelties. These are three Subjects for great Histories, which, bounding with illustrious Atchievements and wonderful Accidents of both Kinds of Fortune, furnish Matter worthy of our Annals, an agreeable Entertainment for the Memory, and useful Examples to improve our Minds, and excite our Courage. But as in the General History of the *Indies* these three Subjects are blended together, and each of them in particular, with an infinite Number of less considerable Enterprizes, it is no easy Matter to reduce them to

the Connexion of one single Narration, nor to observe the due Order of Time, without interrupting, and even frequently sending to Pieces the principal Story, by a Detail of Circumstances.

THE Masters of the Art, who have given the Name of *Transition* to that Step which an Historian makes from one Event to another, require so just a Proportion to be observ'd between the Parts and the Whole, that the Body of the History may neither appear monstrous by a Superfluity of Members, nor yet fail to have all those which are necessary to preserve a beautiful Variety; but according to their Precepts, the joining of these Parts must be so nicely wrought, that no Eye may discern the Texture; nor must the Things be so different as to be unlike, or to make a Confusion. And this delicate Skill of interweaving Events in such a Manner, that they may not appear Digressions one from another, is the greatest Difficulty to an Historian: For if when we are to resume a Matter we had dropp'd, we recapitulate many of its Circumstances, we inevitably fall into the Inconvenience of Repetition and Prolixity; and if, on the other hand, we neglect to do it, our Style becomes unconnected and obscure: Vices which must equally be avoided, because they ruin the best Performances of an Author.

THIS Danger, common to all General Histories, is greater and almost unavoidable in ours: For the *West Indies* consist of two Empires

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pires of very great Extent; each of which contains an Infinity of Provinces, and innumerable Islands. Within these Limits reign'd divers petty Kings, or Caciques; some of them Dependent, and Tributaries to the two Emperors of *Mexico* and *Peru*; the rest were secur'd in their Freedom by the Distance of their Situation. All these Provinces, or little Kingdoms, were so many several Conquests by different Conquerors: Many Enterprizes were form'd at one and the same Time, all under brave Captains, tho' little known. They conducted some Troops of Soldiers, and these Troops were stiled Armies; not without some Shew of Reason, if we consider the Greatness of their Designs, and their Success in the Execution. Many Battles were fought in these Expeditions with some Princes, and in some Provinces and Places, the Names of which were difficult not only to be remember'd, but even to be pronounc'd: So that hence arose frequent and obscure Transitions in the History of those Exploits, and the Abundance of the Matter, perplex'd the Narration; the Historian being oblig'd frequently to leave and to resume the less important Adventures, and the Reader to turn back to those he had left in Suspence, or to keep his Memory upon a continual Stretch.

I DO not deny, but that *Antonio de Herrera*, a very careful Writer, (whom I not only shall endeavour to follow, but would gladly imitate,) has labour'd with great Success in the

6 *The History of the* Book I.

difficult Task he had chosen of a General History: Nevertheless, I do not find all that Perspicuity in his *Decades* which was necessary to make them be understood: Nor was it possible for him to be more clear, having such a Multitude of Adventures to relate, and being oblig'd so often to quit and to resume them as the Order and Succession of Times requir'd.

CHAP. II.

The Reasons which engag'd the Author to write a separate History of North America, or NEW SPAIN.

MY Design is to recover the History of *New Spain* out of this Labyrinth and Obscurity, in order to write it separately, placing it, as well as I am able, in such a Light, that the Mind of the Reader may be struck by the *Wonderful*, without being shock'd, and instructed by the *Useful*, without being disgusted. I have chosen this Subject out of the Three which I have mention'd, because the Exploits of *Christopher Columbus*, and the first Conquests of the Islands, and of *Darien*, not being intermixed with any other Adventures, are happily and distinctly related in the first and second *Decades* of *Antonio de Herrera*. And as for the History of *Pern*, it is to be met with apart in two Tomes, written by the *Inga Garcilaso*, an Author so exact in his Accounts, and so smooth
and

Book I. Conquest of Mexico.

and agreeable in his Style, (according to the Elegance of his Time,) that I should blame any Man as too ambitious, who should attempt to excel him, and give great Encomiums to whosoever could imitate him in prosecuting that History. But *New Spain* either is without a History which deserves that Name, or stands in need of a Defence against the Reproaches of Posterity.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara is the first who has treated this Subject; but without any Care or Exactness. He relates what he has been told, and affirms it with an excessive Credulity, depending as much upon what he has heard, as if he had been an Eye-witness of the Facts; and finding no Difficulty in Things improbable, nor Repugnance in Things impossible.

THIS Author is followed by *Antonio de Herrera*, both in Time, and in some Part of his Accounts; and after him comes *Bartholomé Leonardo de Argensola*, who has fallen into the same Faults with *Herrera*, and is less excusable, having interwoven the first Adventures in this Conquest into his Annals of *Aragon*, treating them in such a Manner, as to appear there far fetch'd, and to fill only the Place of an Episode. He has related what he found in *Antonio de Herrera*: And though his Style be better, yet is it so often interrupted and perplex'd by the Mixture of other Adventures, that what is great and heroical in that Enterprize, is either diminish'd or entirely

lost by the Digressions, as may be seen in many Parts of his History.

THERE has since come abroad a particular *History of New Spain*, a Posthumous Work of *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*. It was brought to light by a Monk of the Order of our Lady of *La Merced*, he having found the Manuscript in the Library of a great and learned Minister, where it had lain conceal'd for many Years, perhaps on account of some Inconveniencies which, at the Time of the printing it, were either over-look'd, or unknown. It passes at present for an authentick History, its rough and unpolish'd Style helping it to look like Truth, and to persuade some Readers of the Sincerity of its Author. But though he has the Advantage of having been an Eye-witness of those Things he has recorded, one may nevertheless discover, from his very Work, that he was not so free from Passion in his Views, as to have the right Government of his Pen: He appears as well satisfy'd with his Ingenuity, as ill content with his Fortune; Envy and Ambition openly shew themselves in many Parts of his Book, these two intemperate Passions frequently breaking forth in Complaints against *Hernan Cortez*, the principal Hero of this History. He endeavours to penetrate his Designs, that he may throw a Shur upon, and correct his Counsels; oftentimes giving out as infallible Rules for Conduct not the Orders of his General, and the Dispositions made by him, but the Murmurs and

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and Mutterings of the Soldiers ; although in this Profession there are as many stupid ignorant Creatures as elsewhere ; and in all Professions, it is equally dangerous to suffer those to dispute, who are born only to obey.

THESE are the Motives which have engaged me to enter upon this Subject, endeavouring to clear it from the Obscurity in which it is involv'd, and to do Justice to injur'd Truth. I shall take Help from those Authors I have cited, upon all Occasions where I shall have no reasonable Ground to differ from them ; and I shall have Recourse to other Accounts, and private Memoirs, which I have collected, impartially chusing those which are most worthy of Credit, for the forming of my Relation. I shall endeavour to avoid Repetitions, and the mentioning of such Things as ought to be supposed ; wasting no Time in recounting minuter Circumstances, which either fully the Paper with what is indecent, or fill it with Things unworthy to be remark'd, and serve more to swell the Volume, than to add any thing to the Dignity of the History.

BUT before I enter upon the Execution of what I have undertaken, it will be proper to give an Account of the Posture of Affairs in *Spain*, at the Time when the Conquest of the new World was begun, to the End that we may discover its Origin, before we consider its Progress, and that this Knowledge may serve as a Foundation to the Building we are going to raise.

C H A P.

CHAP. III.

The Calamities which SPAIN labour'd under, when the Conquest of MEXICO was undertaken.

THE Year 1517 is no less memorable in this Monarchy, for the Troubles and Disorders with which it was harass'd, than for the many Felicities which then attended it. *Spain* was at that Time assaulted on all Sides by Tumults, Discords, and Factions, its Tranquillity being disturb'd by such intestine Evils as threaten'd its utter Ruin, and the People remaining in their Fidelity rather from a Sense of their Duty, than as being obedient to the Curb and Reins of Government. At the same Time a Way was opening to its greatest Prosperity in the *West Indies*, by the Discovery of another *Spain*, by which it not only extended its Limits, but renew'd and doubled its Name. Thus Time and Fortune sport themselves with the Things of this World; and thus Good and Evil are either always mingled, or succeed each other with a perpetual Revolution.

IN the Beginning of the foregoing Year died *Don Fernando* the Catholick, and the Schemes he had form'd for the Preservation and Augmentation of his Dominions, being disconcerted by the Death of their Author, the great Loss these Kingdoms had sustain'd, was gradually known by the Disturbances and Disorders in the publick Affairs which follow'd it;

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As the Value of Causes is usually discover'd by the Importance of the Effects.

THE whole Authority of the Government remain'd in the Hands of the Cardinal-Archbishop of *Toledo*, *Don Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros*, a Man of a resolute Soul, superior Capacity, and invincible Courage, and endow'd in an equal Degree with Piety, Prudence, and Fortitude : These moral Virtues and heroick Qualities, were all united in him, without the least Discord arising from their Diversity. But he was so fond of doing every Thing the best Way, and so active in the Support of his own Opinion, that he frequently let slip an Opportunity of doing well, by endeavouring to do better ; and his Zeal was not so proper for correcting turbulent Spirits, as his Integrity was likely to provoke them.

THE Queen *Donna Juana*, Daughter of *Don Fernando* and *Isabella*, to whom the Succession of the Kingdom rightfully belong'd, resided at *Tordesillas*, where no body was admitted to see her, by reason of the unhappy Accident which had disorder'd her Understanding, and which, by the too strong Impressions it had made upon her Imagination, had either depriv'd her totally of the Use of Reason, or brought her to reason incoherently of those Things with which her Fancy was possess'd.

PRINCE *Charles* (the First of that Name among the Kings of *Spain*, and Fifth among the Emperors,) whom the Accident of his Mother

Mother had brought to the Crown before that Time, was holding his Court in *Flanders*. And as he was yet but very young, (being only in his Seventeenth Year) as he had not been educated in *Spain*, and as his first Inclinations were pre-ingag'd in favour of the *Flemish* Ministers : All these were melancholy Circumstances, which made his Coming be apprehended, even by those who judg'd it necessary for the Good of the State.

THE *Infanto Don Fernando* his Brother, though of fewer Years, yet wanting not a Maturity of Understanding, was highly displeas'd, that his Grandfather *Don Fernando* had not in his last Will named him to be Chief Governor of these Kingdoms, as he had done in a former one, made at *Burgos* ; and altho' he strove to keep himself within the Bounds of his Duty, yet he often made this Reflection, (and heard the same from others, who were near him) That had he never been nam'd to that Employment, the Neglect might have been imputed to his want of Years ; but to exclude him after he had been once nam'd, was a Distrust of another kind, which put a direct Affront upon his Person and Dignity. So that he could not forbear declaring how little he was satisfied with the new Government. A Discontent extremely dangerous at that Time, because the Minds of the People being in a general Disquiet, and strongly inclin'd to that Prince, as well upon Account of his affable Behaviour, as because he had been born

born and bred in *Castile*; they would undoubtedly have follow'd him, (in case of a Disturbance, as was apprehended) taking Advantage of so natural a Motion to add their accustom'd Violences.

THESE Perplexities were augmented by another, which gave the Cardinal *Ximenes* no less Uneasiness. The Dean of *Louvain*, *Adriano Florencio*, who was afterwards Pope, and the Sixth of that Name, had been sent from *Flanders*, to hold, in Appearance, the Rank and Quality of Ambassador at the Court of King *Ferdinand*; but as soon as that King was dead, he produced the Powers, which, till then, he had concealed, to take Possession of his Kingdoms, in the Name of Prince *Charles*, and to govern in his Absence. This occasion'd a Contest, which was manag'd on both Sides with great Warmth. The Question was, Whether these Powers, or those with which the Cardinal was invested, were of the greater Virtue and Authority. The Politicians of that Time manag'd their Arguments upon it with too much Freedom, and little Respect; their Reasonings having always some Tincture of the Passions, by which they were animated. Those who were fond of Novelty, pretended that the Cardinal was only a Governor, named by another Governor; because King *Ferdinand* bore no other Title since the Death of Queen *Isabel*. The Arguments offer'd by the other Side were not less insolent, seeing they tended to an Exclusion of both the Ministers. They main-

maintain'd, that there was the same Defect in the Nomination of the Dean, because, though Prince *Charles* had the Advantage of being lawful Heir to the Crown of *Spain*, he could not, during the Life of his Mother, assume any other Quality than that of Governor, in the same Manner as his Grandfather had done. Thus they declar'd those two Princes incapable of delegating to their Magistrates that Sovereign Authority, which being inseparable from the Person of the King, cannot be lodg'd in that of a Governor.

THE two Governors perceiving that both the Royal Authority, and their own Jurisdiction were struck at by the fomenting of these Disputes, concerted together to unite their Powers. A wise Resolution, had they been able in like manner, to form a Harmony of Genius; but the positive Humour of the Cardinal was continually clashing with the mild Temper of *Adriano*. The first was inclin'd to suffer no Companion in his Resolutions; and the other supported his with little Activity, and without any Knowledge of the Laws and Customs of the Nation. This divided Authority occasioned a like Division in the Obedience of the Subject, producing the same Inconvenience in the State, which would be caused by two Rudders in a Ship, whose different Steerings would alone create a Tempest in the very Midst of a Calm.

THE Effects of this bad Constitution were presently known, the ill-corrected Humours, with

with which the Commonwealth abounded, being intirely exasperated. The Cardinal order'd (and he needed but little Persuasion to bring over his Collegue to his Opinion) that all the Cities and Towns of the Kingdom should arm themselves; and that every one should list its Militia, training the People to the Use of their Arms, and to the Practice of the Obedience due to their Commanders; to which End he appointed Pay for the Officers, and granted Privileges to the Soldiers. Some say, that he took these Measures in view to his own Security; and others, that it was in order to have a Strength sufficient to curb the Pride of the Grandees. But Experience soon made appear, that it was a dangerous Step at that Season: For the Grandees, and those who possess'd hereditary Lordships, (a difficult Body to govern in such rebellious Times) took offence at the arming of the People, believing a Report which had been spread, not to be without some Foundation, That the Governors intended, by the Help of this Force, to examine into the Origin of their Seignories, and their Pretensions to those Duties they exacted from their Vassals. And even among the People these Measures had different Effects: For some Cities list'd Men, made their Musters, and trained their Soldiers to military Exercises; but in others they look'd on these Imitations of War, as affecting their Liberty, and as dangerous to the publick Tranquillity: The Inconvenience of the Novelty being equal

In the one and the other, because those Cities which continued in their Duty, were however, not insensible of the Strength they had to support their Disobedience upon Occasion; and those that were rebellious, found themselves in a Condition to force the rest to follow them, and to put all Things into Confusion.

CHAP. IV.

The Condition of the distant Kingdoms and the Islands of America, which are now called the West Indies.

AT this Time the rest of the Dominions of the Crown of Spain, suffer'd no less than *Castile*; there was scarce a Stone that did not move, nor a Part from whence they had not Reason to fear the Ruin of the whole Fabrick.

Andaluzia groaned under the Oppression of a Civil War, occasioned by *Don Pedro Giron*, Son to the *Conde de Urenna*, that he might get Possession of the Estates belonging to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the Succession of which he pretended to, by *Donna Mencía de Guzman*, his Wife; putting the Proof of his Right upon the Decision of Arms, and authorizing Violence with the Name of Justice.

IN *Navarre*, the two Factions of *Beamont* and *Agramont*, which became famous at the Expence of their Country, began to break out again with Violence. The *Beamontese*, who were Partisans of the King of *Castile*, called the attacking of their Enemies the Defence of Right: And the *Agramontese*, who, after the Death of *Juan de la Brit* and Queen *Catalina*, declared for the Prince of *Bearne*, their Son, presum'd upon the Protection of *France*, with whose Power they threaten'd their Adversaries. Both the one and the other Party were difficult to reduce; because both cover'd their Hatred with the Appearance of Loyalty, abusing the Name of the King, which only serv'd as a Pretence for Revenge and Sedition.

IN *Arragon* there arose dangerous Disputes about the Government of that Kingdom; which, by the Will of King *Fernando*, was left to the Care of his Son *Don Alphonso*, Archbishop of *Zaragoza*, who was strenuously opposed by the chief Magistrate, or *El Justicia*, *Don Juan de Lanuza*, out of an Opinion, (whether real or affected) that it was inconsistent with the Quiet of that Kingdom, to have the absolute Power vested in a Person of such ambitious Thoughts. And from this Beginning sprung other Disputes among the Nobles, which might be consider'd as too refin'd Reasons upon the Point of Loyalty; but as these Discussions infected by Degrees the unreasoning Minds of the People, they endanger'd their Obedience and Subjection.

CATALONIA and VALENCIA were laid waste by the customary Cruelty of their Banditti, who, not contented with commanding the Country, possess'd themselves of the smaller Towns, and grew terrible to the Cities, with so much Insolence and Security, that the Order of the Commonwealth being disturbed, the Magistrates absconded, and Cruelty prevailed in all Places. Crimes were accounted noble Actions, and the Posterity of Delinquents became illustrious.

IN *Naples* the proclaiming of Queen *Juana*, and *Don Carlos*, was receiv'd with Applause; but even in the Midst of the publick Joy, a seditious Report was spread, the Rise whereof was unknown, but the Wickedness obvious.

It was said that King *Fernando* had named the Duke of *Calabria*, then a Prisoner in the Castle of *Xativa*, for Heir of the Kingdom. And this Report, which was deservedly slighted in the Beginning, descended to the Commonalty, among whom it pass'd in a Whisper for some Days, until at length swelling with Mystery, it broke out in popular Clamour and open Tumult; which gave great Uneasiness to the Nobility, and to all those who had any Regard to Reason and Truth.

IN *Sicily* the People took up Arms against the Viceroy, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, with so much Fury, that he was forc'd to leave the Government in the Hands of the Populace, and these Disturbances began to take deep

root than those at *Naples*, for they were
 mented by some of the Nobility; who
 made the publick Good (always the first Signal
 of Sedition) a Pretence, and the common
 People an Instrument to execute their Revenge,
 and to pass on to the more dangerous Designs
 of their Ambition.

NOR were the *Indies*, notwithstanding
 their Distance, free from this Infection, which
 extended to the most remote Parts of the
 Monarchy. At that Time all the Conquests in
 that new World consisted of the four Islands,
 of *Santo Domingo*, *Cuba*, *San Juan de Pu-*
erto Rico, and *Jamaica*, and a small Part of
 the *Terra Firma*, which had been peopled in
 the Province of *Darien*, at the Entrance of
 the Gulph of *Uraba*. The Whole of what
 was denominated the *West Indies*, was
 contained within these Bounds. The first
 Conquerors gave them this Name, because
 in Wealth and Distance they resembled the
East Indies, so call'd from the River *Indus*.
 The rest of this Empire consisted not so much
 in any Thing real, as in the Hopes which had
 been conceived from several Discoveries and
 Inroads made by some of our Captains with
 various Success, and more Danger than Profit;
 but in that little Extent of Country possess'd
 by the *Spaniards*, they had so far forgotten
 the Valour of the first Conquerors, and Cove-
 tousness was so rooted in their Minds, that
 they regarded nothing but enriching them-
 selves, in utter Defiance to Conscience and

Reputation, without which two Curbs, a Man is left to his own Nature, and is as savage and cruel as the very Brutes, which make War upon him. There came nothing from those Parts now but Lamentations and Complaints. Zeal for Religion and the publick Good gave way entirely to the Interest and Lust of private Men, and they were continually destroying the poor *Indians*, who groaned under the heavy Load, labouring for Gold to satisfy the Avarice of other Men, and were forced to seek with the Sweat of their Brow, what they themselves despised; cursing the ungrateful Fertility of their Country, as the Cause of their Slavery.

THESE Disorders gave great Disturbance to *Don Fernando*, who was particularly desirous to protect and convert the *Indians* (always the first Care of our Kings;) to which End he gave Orders, published Laws, and made use of various Means, which lost their Force by the Disadvantage of their Distance, as an Arrow falls short of the Mark, when placed at too great a Distance from the Arm that drew the Bow. But the Death of the King happening before he could enjoy the Fruit of his Labours, the Cardinal enter'd in good Earnest into the Prosecution of this Design, desiring to put that Government once upon a good Footing; to which End he imploy'd four grave Regulars of the Order of *St. Jerom*, sending them with the Character of Inspectors, and another Minister of his own Election, to accompany them, with Commission of Residentiary Judge;

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to the End, that those two Jurisdictions being united, might extend over the Whole. But they no sooner arriv'd at the Islands, than they found it impossible to execute the Severity of their Instructions, and that the Difference is great between Practice and Speculation; and they did little more than experience the ill State of that Government, making the Disease worse by the Weakness of the Remedy.

CHAP. V.

The Calamities of the Monarchy cease, on the Arrival of CHARLES. At this Time began the Conquest of NEW SPAIN.

IN this Condition were the Affairs of the Monarchy, when *Charles* took Possession, and arriv'd in *Spain*, in the Month of *September* this Year. The Storm began to abate upon his Coming, and the Influence of his Presence, by little and little, introduc'd a Calm. The first Effects of this happy Change were perceived in *Castile*, whose Tranquillity communicated itself to the rest of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, and afterwards reach'd to the Dominions abroad; as in a human Body, the natural Heat distributes itself, passing from the Heart to the Benefit of the most distant Members. In short, the Influence of the new King extended to *America*, his Name doing as

much there, as his Presence did in *Spain*. The Minds of Men became disposed to great Undertakings; the Courage of the Soldiers increased; and they began the first Operations which preceded the Conquest of *New Spain*, the Empire of which had been destined by Heaven to signalize the Beginning of the Reign of this august Monarch.

THE Island of *Cuba* was at that Time governed by Captain *Diego Velasquez*, who went thither as Lieutenant to the second Admiral of the *Indies*, *Don Diego Colon*, with such good Fortune, that the Conquest of it was owing to him, and the greatest Part of the Settlement.

As that Island was the most Western of those that had been discover'd, and nearest to the Continent of *North America*, they had there large Accounts of other Lands, not far distant, tho' it was still a Doubt whether they were Islands, or not. They talk'd, however, of the Riches of those Countries with as much Certainty as if they had seen them; whether it be that this Confidence was ground'd upon what Experience had discover'd in the Conquests already made, or that the Prosperities, with which we flatter ourselves, have but a short Step to make from the Fancy to absolute Belief.

THE great Idea conceived of those Parts increased at this Time by what those Soldiers related, who had accompanied *Francisco Fernandez de Cordova* in the Discovery of *Yucatan*,

Yucatan, a Peninsula situate on the Confines of *New Spain*. And altho' that Undertaking was not prosperous, and they could not then make a Conquest, because the Captain and the greatest Part of his Men died gallantly in the Attempt, yet at least they were satisfied of the Reality of those Countries; and the Soldiers, who arrived at this Time, altho' wounded and overcome, were so little daunted, that even in magnifying what they had suffer'd, they shewed an Inclination to return to the Enterprize, and infused the same Desire into the rest of the *Spaniards* of the Island; not so much by their Words and Example, as by shewing some little Toys of Gold, which they brought from the new discover'd Country, under the Standard, and in small Quantity, but so much heighten'd in Value by the Strength of Imagination, that all began to promise themselves great Riches from this Conquest, and to raise mighty Structures in Fancy upon the Foundation of what they had seen.

SOME Writers do not allow that this first Gold, or Metal mix'd with it, came at that Time from *Yucatan*, grounding their Opinion on that Province's not producing any, and the Easiness of contradicting what no body maintains. We follow those who relate what they saw, without finding any great Difficulty, in supposing that Gold might be brought from some other Part to *Yucatan*, well knowing that to produce it, and to have it, are different Things. It appears by its not being found any

where but in the Temples, that those *Indians* esteem'd it as something excellent; since they applied it solely to the Worship of their Gods.

DIEGO VELASQUEZ seeing the Name of *Tucatan* in so much Credit with every one, began to entertain Thoughts of raising himself to farther Greatness, as one who found himself uneasy in acknowledging Admiral *Diego de Colan* his Superior in that Government; a Dependance now more nominal than real, but yet such, as when he consider'd his Rank and great Successes, gave him inward Trouble, and destroy'd the Relish of his good Fortune. With this View he resolv'd to renew the Attempt of a Discovery, and conceiving fresh Hopes from the Ardour, with which the Soldiers offered themselves, he published his Design. Men were list'd, and three Vessels and a Brigantine fitted out, and well stor'd with Ammunition and Provisions. He appointed *Juan de Grijalva*, a Relation of his own, to be Commander in Chief; and *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Francisco de Montexo*, and *Alonso Davila*, to command under him, Men of eminent Quality, but yet more distinguish'd in those Islands by their Valour and Humanity, the second and most valuable Kind of Nobility. But notwithstanding they easily assembled about two hundred and fifty Soldiers, including in this Number Pilots and Mariners, and made all the Dispatch which Men, so eager on their Enterprize, could possibly do, they did not put to Sea until the Eighth of *April*, the Year following, 1518.

THEY

THEY set out with a Design to follow the same Course as in the former Voyage; but falling off some Degrees, by the Strength of the Currents, they came upon the Isle of *Cozumel*, (the first Discovery in this Voyage,) where they refreshed themselves, without any Opposition from the Natives; and returning on board, they stood their Course, and in few Days found themselves in Sight of *Yucatan*; and having doubled the Point of *Cotoche*, the most Eastern Part of that Province, they stood Westerly, with the Larboard to the Shore, which they coasted, until they arrived at *Potonchan*, or *Champoton*, where *Francisco Fernandez de Cordova* was routed and killed: To revenge whose Death, more than out of any Necessity, they landed; and having vanquish'd and terrified those *Indians*, determined to pursue their Discovery.

THEY stood Westerly by common Consent, without keeping at a greater Distance from the Land than was necessary for their Safety, and discover'd on a Part of the Coast (which extended a great Way, and appeared very delightful) several Towns, with Buildings of Stone, which very much surpris'd them, and in the Ecstasy of Joy with which they made their Observations, seem'd to be great Cities, with Towers and Pinnacles; Objects at this Time, contrary to the ordinary Rule, appearing greater, as they were more distant. And because one of the Soldiers at that Time said, that this Country was like *Spain*, the Comparison so much

much pleased the Hearers, and made such an Impression upon their Minds, that we have no Account of any other Beginning of the Name of *New Spain*, given to that Country: Words accidentally spoken, but so successfully repeated, that without any Propriety or Beauty to recommend them, they have fixed themselves forever on the Memories of Men.

C H A P. VI.

Juan de Grijalva enters the River of Tobasco.

OUR Vessels followed the Coast, until such Time as they came to the Place where the River *Tobasco*, one of the navigable Rivers which run into the Gulph of *Mexico*, discharges itself at two Mouths. From the Time of this Discovery, it has been called the River of *Grijalva*; but the Province water'd by it, situate on the Frontiers of *New Spain*, between *Yucatan* and *Guazacoalco*, retains the old Name. In these Parts they discover'd spacious Groves, and so many Towns on the two Banks of the Stream, that with the Hopes of making a considerable Progress, *Juan de Grijalva* resolved (with the Approbation of his Men) to go up the River, and take a View of the Country; and finding by the Soundings, that he could only make use of the two lesser Vessels, he embarked all his Soldiers on board them, and left the other two at an Anchor, with Part of the Sailors.

THEY

THEY began, not without some Difficulty, to overcome the Strength of the Current; when they perceived at a little Distance, a considerable Number of Canoes, filled with armed *Indians*, and on the Shore several small Bodies of Men, who seemed prepared for an Engagement; and who both by their Voices and Motions, which were now distinguishable, endeavour'd to persuade the *Spaniards*, that their Landing would be difficult; their Gestures being such as Men in Fear are wont to use, who would keep off Danger by Menaces. But our People, accusom'd to greater Enterprizes, approach'd in good Order until the two Parties were within reach of one another's Weapons. The General commanded that no one should fire, or make any Signal, but of Peace; and the Admiration the *Indians* were in at the Make of the Ships, and Difference of the Men and Habits, seemed to have impos'd upon them the same Orders; for they stood without Motion, as deprived of the Use of their Hands, by the Astonishment under which their Eyes had brought them. *Grijalva* made use of this seasonable and accidental Amusement, wherein he found the Enemy, to leap on Shore, followed by a Part of his Men, with more Expedition than Danger. He drew them up, and erected the Royal Standard: And after those customary Solemnities were performed, which being little more than Ceremonies, were yet called Acts of Possession, he endeavour'd to make the *Indians* understand, that he came
in

in Peace, without any Design to offend them. This Message was carried by two *Indian* Boys who were made Prisoners in the first Expedition to *Tucatan*, and at their Baptism had the Names of *Julian* and *Melchor*. They understood the Language of *Tabasco*, as being like that of their own Country; and they had learn'd ours so that they made themselves understood with some Difficulty; but in a Country where they were often forc'd to speak by Signs, that indistinct Interpretation pass'd for Eloquence.

THE Result of this Embassy was such, that about thirty *Indians* had the Boldness to draw nearer in four Canoes, with some Precaution. CANOES were Boats, made of the Trunks of Trees, work'd hollow after such a Manner, that some were capable of holding fifteen or twenty Men; such is the Largeness of those Trees, and the Fertility of the Country that produces them. They saluted each other courteously; and *Juan de Grijalva*, after having removed their Apprehensions by some Presents, made them a short Discourse, giving them to understand, by the Help of his Interpreters, That he and his Soldiers were Vassals to a powerful Monarch, who possess'd an Empire where the Sun rises; in whose Name he came to offer them Peace and great Advantages, if they would become his Subjects. They heard his Proposition with the Marks of a disagreeable Attention; and we must not omit the natural Discretion of one of those *Barbarians*, who, silencing the rest, answer'd

Grijalva,

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Cajabua, with Firmness and Resolution, That he did not esteem That to be a good Kind of Peace, the Preliminaries of which were Submission and Vassalage; and that he could not but wonder at it as a Thing very mysterious, that he should talk to them of a new Master, before he knew whether they were discontented with him they already had: but that as to the Point of Peace or War, (the only Question at present) they would speak of to their Superiors, and return with their Answer.

THEY took leave with this Resolution, and our People remained equally surprized and concerned. The Satisfaction of having found Indians of more Reason and better Discourse than usual, being allay'd by the Difficulties they expected to meet with in conquering them; for they rightly concluded, That those who knew how to discourse so well, would also know how to fight, or that at least they had Reason to apprehend a different Kind of Valour with their different Understandings; being certain, that in War the Head does more than the Hands. But these Considerations of the Danger (on which both Captains and Soldiers variously reasoned) pass'd as prudent Reflections, but made little or no Impression on their Hearts. They were undeceived in a little Time; for the same Indians returned with Signals of Peace, saying, That their *Caziques* did accept it, not that they feared War, or were so easily to be overcome

as the People of Yucatan (whose Defeat they had learn'd) but because our Men having left Peace or War to their Election, they thought themselves obliged to chuse the best; and as a Token of the new Friendship they were going to establish, they brought a plentiful Regale of Provisions and Fruits. A little after came the principal Cazique, with a slender Attendance of unarmed People, thereby giving to understand the Confidence he had in his Guests, and that he came secure in his own Sincerity. *Grijalva* received him with Demonstrations of Satisfaction and Courtesy, and the Indian made a Return in Submissions after his Manner, accompanied with an Air of Gravity, either real or affected. After the first Compliments, he order'd his Servants to come up with another Present of divers Curiosities, of more Workmanship than Value: Plumes of various Colours; Robes of fine Cotton, with some Figures of Animals to adorn them, made of Gold, thin and light, or curiously wrought in Wood, set in Gold, or overlaid with it, and without staying for the Acknowledgements of *Grijalva*, the Cazique gave him to understand, by the Help of his Interpreters, That his Design was Peace, and that the Intention of that Present was, to take a friendly Leave of his Guests, in order to maintain it. *Grijalva* answered him, That he very much esteem'd his Liberality; and that his Purpose was to pass forwards, without making any Stop, or giving him any Umbrage:

Umbrage: A Resolution to which he inclined, partly to make a generous Return to the good Behaviour of those People, and the Confidence they had plac'd in him; and partly for the Conveniency of a Retreat, and of having Friends at his Back, in case of any Accident that might occur. And so he took his leave, and re-embark'd, having first presented the Cazique and his Servants with some *Castilian* Trifles, which altho' of very little Value, bore a Price for their Novelty; which should be less surprizing to the *Spaniards* now-a-days, when they themselves buy foreign Glasses at such excessive Rates.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA, and those who follow him, or have writ since, affirm, that the Cazique presented *Grijalva* with a Suit of Armour of fine Gold, with all the Pieces belonging to it; that he armed himself completely with them; and that they fitted him as well as if they had been made for him: Circumstances too remarkable to have been omitted by more antient Authors. He took it, perhaps, from *Francisco Lopez de Gomara*, whom he uses to reject on other Occasions; but *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who was there present, and *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo*, who wrote at that Time in the Island of *Santo Domingo*, make no mention of these Arms, altho' both give a minute Account of all the Curiosities brought from *Tobasco*. I leave it to the Judgment of the Reader what Credit is to

to be given to those Authors, desiring only the Liberty to relate the Story, without blaming any one for doubting the Truth of it.

CHAP. VII.

Juan de Grijalva prosecutes his Voyage, and enters the River of Flags, where he has the first Account of the Mexican King MOTEZUMA.

GRIJALVA and his Companions pursued their Voyage, standing the same Course, still discovering new Lands and Towns, without any memorable Accident, until they came to a River, which they call'd the River of *Flags*; because on the Shore and neighbouring Coasts, they saw a great Number of *Indians*, with white Flags hanging at the Tops of their Spears, and who, by their Manner of waving them, together with their Signals, Cries, and different Motions, made a Shew of Peace, and seemed rather to invite Passengers than forbid them. *Grijalva* order'd *Francisco de Montejo* to advance with some of his Men in two Boats, to try the Entrance of the River, and discover the Intentions of those *Indians*. This Captain finding a good Anchoring Place, and little to apprehend from the Behaviour of the People, gave Notice to the rest to come up. They all landed, and were

were received with great Admiration and Marks of Joy by the *Indians* : From amongst whom, assembled in great Numbers, three advanced, who, by the Ornaments of their Habits, seemed the principal Men of the Country ; and stopping so long as was necessary to observe who was the chief Commander, by the Respect the others paid him, they went directly up to *Gri-alva*, whom they accosted with great Reverence, and who received them with equal Courtesy. Our Interpreters did not understand the Language of this Country, so that the Compliments were made by civil Signs, with some Words of more Sound than Signification.

AFTER this they saw a Banquet, which the *Indians* had provided of different Sorts of Food, plac'd, or rather thrown upon Mats of Palm, under the Shade of the Trees ; a rustick and disorderly Plenty, but not the less grateful to the Taste of the hungry Soldiers. After which Refreshment, the three *Indians* commanded their People to shew some Pieces of Gold, which they had concealed till then ; and by their Manner of shewing and holding them, it was understood that they did not design to make a Present of them, but to purchase with them the Merchandize of the Ships, the Fame of which had already reach'd their Ears. Presently a Fair was open'd for Strings of Beads, Combs, Knives, and other Instruments of Iron and Alchymy, which in that Country might be called Jewels of great

Price, the Fondness of the *Indians* for those Trifles giving them a real Value. They were exchanged for Implements, and Trinkets of Gold, not of the greatest Fineness, but in such abundance, that in the six Days the *Spaniards* stopp'd there, the *Ransomes* amounted to fifteen thousand *Peso's*.

WE don't know with what Propriety they gave the Name of *Ransomes* to this Kind of Trucking, nor why they called it *Ransomes* Gold, which in Truth was deliver'd over to a greater Slavery, and had more Liberty where it was less esteemed: But I shall make use of this Expression, because I find it introduced into our Histories, and before them into the History of the *East Indies*; it being granted that in the Manner of speaking, whereby Things are explain'd, the Reason is not so much to be sought after, as the Custom, which according to the Opinion of *Horace*, is the true Judge of Language, and either gives or takes away, as it pleases, that Harmony which the Ear finds between Sounds and their Signification.

Juan de Grijalva finding that the *Ransomes* were at an end, and the Ships in some Danger, by being expos'd to the North Wind, took his leave of those People, who remained highly pleas'd, and resolv'd to pursue his Discovery, having understood by Signs that these three *Indian* Chiefs were Subjects to a Monarch called *Motexuma*, whose Empire extended over numerous Countries abounding

with

with Gold, and other Riches; and that they came by his Order to examine, after a peaceable Manner, into the Intentions of our People, whose Neighbourhood, in all Appearance, gave him Disturbance. Some Writers run into larger Accounts, but it doth not seem easy to conceive whence they could have gained their Knowledge, nor was it a small Matter to learn so much as we have related, where People were oblig'd to speak with their Hands, and understand by their Eyes.

THEY sail'd on, without losing Sight of Land, and passing by two or three Islands of small Note, landed in one they call'd the *Island of Sacrifices*, because going in to view a House of Lime and Stone, which overlooked the rest, they found several Idols of a horrible Figure, and a more horrible Worship paid to them; for near the Steps where they were placed, were the carcasses of six or seven Men, newly sacrificed, cut to Pieces, and their Entrails laid open. This miserable Sight struck our People with Horror, and affected them with different Sentiments, their Hearts being fill'd with Compassion, at the same Time that they were enraged at the Abomination.

THEY staid but a little while in this Island, because the Inhabitants being in a Consternation, the Ransomes were not considerable. They pass'd on to another, which was not far from the main Land, and so situated, that between that and the Coast there was sufficient Room and convenient Shelter for the Ships.

They called it the Island of *St. Juan*, because they arrived there on the Day of the Baptism; and likewise in Respect to the Name of their General, mixing Devotion with Flattery; and because an *Indian*, who was pointing with his Hand towards the Main Land, giving them to understand how it was called, repeated several times, with a bad Pronunciation, the Word *Culua! Culua!* this gave occasion to the Surname, by which they distinguished it from *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, calling it *St. Juan de Ulua*: A little Island of more Sand than Soil; and which lay so low, that sometimes it was cover'd by the Sea. But from these humble Beginnings, it became the most frequented and most celebrated Port of *New Spain*, on that Side which is bounded by the North Sea.

HERE they staid some Days; for the *Indians* of the neighbouring Parts came with their Pieces of Gold, believing they had the Advantage of the *Spaniards* in changing them for Glafs. And *Juan de Grijalva* finding that his Instructions limited him to discover and ransome, without making a Settlement (which was expressly forbidden him) resolv'd to give an Account to *Diego Velasquez*, of the large Countries he had discover'd; that in case he should determine to plant a Colony there, he might send him new Orders with a Supply of Forces, and the necessary Stores and Provisions. For this purpose he dispatch'd Captain *Pedro de Alvarado* in one of the

the four Ships, giving him all the Gold, and whatever else they had acquired, to the end, that the Shew of that Wealth might give his Embassy the more Weight, and facilitate his Proposal of Settling, to which he was always inclined; notwithstanding *Francisco Lopez de Gomara* denies it, and blames him on this account as a pusillanimous Person.

C H A P. VIII.

Juan de Grijalva goes on with his Discovery, until he has coasted the Province of Panuco. What happen'd in the River of Canoes, and his Resolution to return to the Isle of Cuba.

SCARCE had *Pedro de Alvarado* steered his Course for *Cuba*, when the rest of the Ships parted from *St. Juan de Ulua* in Pursuit of their Way, and following the Guidance of the Coast, turn'd with it towards the North, having in view the two Mountains of *Tuspa* and *Tusta*, which stretch a great way between the Sea and the Province of *Tlascalala*. After which they came upon the Coast of *Panuco*, the farthest Province of *New Spain*, on the Gulph of *Mexico*, and came to an Anchor in the River of *Canoes*, which took this Name at that Time, because in the little Space they stopp'd to take a View of it, they were assaulted by sixteen Canoes, filled

with armed *Indians*, who, by the Help of the Current attack'd the Ship, commanded by *Alonso Davila*, and after discharging a furious Shower of Arrows, cut one of the Canoes, and endeavour'd to board the Ship; Resolution becoming *Barbarians*, but such as had it been favour'd with Success, might have deserved the Name of a gallant Action. But the other two Ships coming immediately up to her Relief, the Men in an instant mann'd their Boats, charging the Canoes with so much Vigour, that one could not distinguish between the Attack and the Victory: Some of them were overfet, many *Indians* killed, and those who had more Prudence to know the Danger or used more Diligence to avoid it, put to Flight.

It did not seem proper to follow this Victory, by reason of the small Advantage by Traffick that could be hoped for from frightened Fugitives; wherefore they weigh'd Anchor, and prosecuted their Voyage till they arrived at a Point of Land which ran far into the Sea, which, seemingly enrag'd with it, as usurping upon its Territories, maintain'd an obstinate War against the Rocks. The Pilots made use of all their Industry and Skill to double this Cape; but were forc'd to give way to the Strength of the Current, and not without Danger of oversetting, or running ashore. This Accident occasion'd the Pilots to protest against proceeding any farther; in which they were seconded by the general

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clamours of the Men, grown weary now of so tedious a Navigation, and more apprehensive of the Dangers that might attend it. Upon which *Juan de Grijalva*, a Man of equal Prudence and Courage, assembled the Captains and Pilots, to consult what was to be done in their present Circumstances. In this Council they weighed the Difficulty of passing forward, and the Uncertainty of returning; that one of their Ships had suffer'd, and wanted to be refitted; that their Provision began to spoil, and the Men to be dissatisfied and fatigued. They consider'd withal, that to make a Settlement, was contrary to the Instructions of *Diego Velasquez*; and that they were in an ill Condition to undertake it, without a further Reinforcement; so that in the end, they resolved with one Accord to steer their Course for *Cuba*, in order to furnish themselves with what was necessary for undertaking a third time this great Affair, now left unfinish'd. This was presently put in Execution, and sailing back the Way by which they came, taking a View of other Parts of the same Coasts, without stopping long at any Place, yet making some Profit by Ransomes, they arrived at length at the Port of *Sant Jago*, in *Cuba*, the 15th of *November, 1518.*

SOME few Days before, *Pedro de Alvarado* was arrived at the same Port, and very well received by the Governor *Diego Velasquez*, who expressed an incredible Joy, at the Account of the large Countries discover'd,

and, above all, at the Sight of the fifteen thousand Peso's of Gold, which supported the Relation without any Occasion for Exaggerations.

THE Governor beheld this Wealth with Admiration, and hardly believing his Eyes made *Pedro de Alvarado* repeat a second and third time what he had before related, finding something new in the very Thing he had just heard; as a Musician is delighted with the Repetition of his Tune. But this Satisfaction was soon allayed by his Impatience at the Conduct of *Don Juan de Grijalva*, because he had not made a Settlement in the Country where he had been so well received: And although *Petro de Alvarado* endeavour'd to excuse him, yet having been one of those who had advis'd the making a Settlement in the River of *Flags*, he spoke but faintly, as a Man usually does when he endeavours to enforce any thing against his own Opinion. *Diego Velasquez* accused him of Want of Resolution, and, angry at his own Choice, confess'd he was to blame for having sent him, proposing to intrust this Undertaking to some more active Person, without considering how he disoblig'd a Relation, to whom he owed the very Happiness which rais'd his Hopes to such a Pitch. But the first Effect that good Fortune has on the Minds of the Ambitious, is to captivate their Reason, and take from them the Sense of Gratitude. He thought of nothing now but to obtain the Prize, and

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any Rate enjoy the Prosperity which he promised himself from that great Discovery; raising his Intraginations to mighty Things, and hoping now to compass that which before exceeded his very Desires.

HE resolv'd immediately to make Preparations for the Conquest of this Country, to which the Name of *New Spain* gave a great Reputation. He communicated his Resolution to the Regulars of St. *Jerom*, who resided in the Island of *Santo Domingo*, but in such Terms, that he seemed rather to desire their Approbation, than ask their Permission. And he sent a Person to Court, with a large Account of the Discovery, together with a Memorial, in which his own Services were not forgotten; in Reward of which, he requested some Favours, and the Title of the King's Lieutenant of those Countries he should conquer.

HE had already bought some Vessels, and begun to fit out a new Fleet, when *Juan de Grijalva* arrived, and found him as much incensed, as he had Reason to expect him thankful. *Velasquez* reprimanded him sharply and publicly; the other modestly declining to say all he could have done in his own Defence. However, he laid before *Velasquez* his own Instructions, which expressly forbid him to settle: But the Governor's ambitious Prospects had now so transported him beyond the Bounds of Reason, that tho' he owned the Order, yet he treated Obedience to it as a Crime.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

The Difficulties which occur'd in the Choice of a Commander of the new Fleet, and who HERNAN CORTES was, who, in the end, obtained that Post.

BUT *Diego Velasquez* knowing how much it imported to be quick in his Resolutions, and that by losing Time, he might lose a favourable Opportunity, gave immediate Orders for refitting the four Vessels which served in the Voyage of *Grijalva*, with which, and those he had bought, he made up ten Vessels, from eighty to an hundred Tuns, using the same Dispatch in arming and furnishing them with Stores and Provisions; but he was at a Loss upon whom to fix the Command. His Design was to chuse a Man of Resolution, who would know how to disengage himself from Difficulties, and make use of Opportunities, but withal, so manageable, as not to give him any Jealousy, or have any other Ambition than to advance the Glory of his Principal; which, in other Words was to seek for a Man of great Courage, and a mean Spirit. But it not being easy to find these two Extrems in the same Subject; he delayed his Determination for some Days. The Voice of the People was in favour of *Juan de Grijalva*, and they usually do Justice in their Elections. What served greatly to recommend him, were his good Qualities,

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the Trouble he had taken in this Discovery, together with his Knowledge of the Navigation; and of the Country.

THE other Pretenders were *Antonio* and *Bernardino Velasquez*, near Relations of the Governor, *Baltasar Bermudez*, *Vasco Porcallo*, and other Cavaliers of that Island, of sufficient Merit to pretend to greater Employments; and upon this Occasion every one discours'd, as if he was the only proper Choice; and indeed, generally speaking, when the Disposal of Employments is delay'd, it serves only to increase the Number of Pretenders, and multiply the Complaints of the Unfortunate.

BUT *Diego Velasquez* continued in his Irresolution, fearing the Ambition of those whose Capacity he approved, until advising with *Amador de Lariz*, the King's Treasurer, and *Andres de Duero*, his Secretary, which two he entirely confided in, and who knew his Temper perfectly well, they proposed their intimate Friend *Hernan Cortes*, being not over-lavish in his Praise, lest their Advice should be suspected; insinuating withal, that they spoke more out of Regard to the Success of the Undertaking, than the Interest of their Friend. Their Proposition was well heard, and they contented themselves with seeing him favourably inclined, giving him Time to consider of it, with Hopes, of intirely perswading him in a second Conversation.

BUT before we go farther, it will be proper to say who *Hernan Cortes* was, and thro' what

what Variety of Events his happy Destiny led him to atchieve, by his Valour and Conduct, the Conquest of *New Spain*. I call that, Destiny, which, speaking as a Christian, is the sovereign and unsearchable Disposition, made by the first Cause, who leaving second Causes to act in Subordination to his Providence, as natural Means, produces all that happens by his Permission or Appointment, in a manner consistent with that Liberty of Choice which he has bestowed upon Mankind.

HE was born in *Medillin*, a Town of *Estremadura*, Son of *Martin Cortes*, of *Monroy*, and *Donna Catalina-Pizarro Altamarino*, Names that sufficiently declare the Nobility of his Extraction. In his Youth, he for some time applied himself to Letters, and was two Years at *Salamanca*, which were sufficient to make him sensible, that the sedentary Application of a studious Life was contrary to his Temper, and did not suit the Vivacity of his Spirit. He returned home resolved to follow the Wars, and his Parents pointed out to him that of *Italy*, which was then the most considerable, and made the greatest Noise with the Name of the Great Captain *Gonsalvo de Cordova*. But when he was to embark, he fell dangerously ill of a Distemper, which continued many Days; by which Accident he found himself obliged to change his Intention, though not his Profession; and therefore he resolved to go to the *Indies*, where the War at that Time was carried on with a View

to Glory, rather than to Wealth. He embarked, with the Approbation of his Parents, in the Year 1504, and carried Letters of Recommendation to *Don Nicholas de Obando*, Great Commander of the Order of *Alcantara*, his Kinsman, and then Governor of the Island of *Sant Domingo*. He was no sooner arrived there, and known, than he gained the general Good-will and Esteem; and was so kindly received by the Governor, as to be immediately admitted by him into the Number of his Friends, and offer'd his Assistance in a particular Manner: But all those Favours were not sufficient to divert his Inclination to Arms; for he was so uneasy with the State of Inaction, wherein he found that Island, which the *Spaniards* now possessed without any Opposition from the Natives, that he desir'd Leave to go and serve in the Isle of *Cuba*, where the War was still carried on: And having gained the Consent of his Kinsman, he endeavour'd to signalize himself in that War both by Valour and Obedience, which are the first Rudiments of the Military Profession. He very soon acquired not only the Reputation of a valiant Soldier, but also that of an able Commander, distinguishing both his Courage in Action, and his Capacity in Council.

CORTES was well made, and of an agreeable Countenance; and besides those common natural Endowments, he was of a Temper which render'd him very amiable; for he always spoke well of the Absent, and was pleasant

sant and discreet in his Conversation, His Generosity was such, that his Friends partook of all he had, without being suffer'd by him to publish their Obligations.

HE married in that Island *Donna Cathalina Suarez Pacheco*, a noble and virtuous young Lady. This Courtship brought him under many Difficulties, by the interfering of *Diego Velasquez*, who made him Prisoner till such Time as all Differences were adjusted; and then *Velasquez* stood Father to the Bride, and gave her to him in Marriage. After which they were intimate Friends; and the Governor in a little Time gave him a Distribution of *Indians*, and the Post of *Alcalde*, or Chief Magistrate in the very Town of *St. Jago*; an Employment usually conferr'd on those who had distinguish'd themselves in the Conquest of those Countries.

IN these Circumstances was *Hernan Cortes*, when *Amador de Lariz* and *Andres de Duero* propos'd him for the Conquest of *New Spain*, and they did it with so much Address, that the next time they waited upon *Diego Velasquez*, furnish'd with fresh Reasons to enforce their Recommendation, they found him resolv'd on *Hernan Cortes*, and so possess'd with the Advantages of entrusting the Undertaking to his Care, that they chang'd their premeditated Arguments into Flattery, and only endeavour'd to oblige him by applauding a Resolution so agreeable to their own Wishes. They agreed with the Governor that it was

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convenient immediately to publish the Choice, in order to put a Stop at once to all further pretensions; and *Andres de Duero* was not dilatory in the Dispatch of the Commission: the Substance of which was, *That Diego Velasquez, as Governor of the Isle of Cuba, and Promoter of the Discoveries of Yucatan and New Spain, did name Hernan Cortes for Captain-General of the Fleet, and of the Countries already discover'd, or which should be discover'd; with the most extensive Powers, and most honourable Clauses, which the Friendship of the Secretary could add, under Presence of observing the necessary Forms.*

C H A P. X.

The Rivals of Cortes endeavour with all their Power to set Diego Velasquez against him, but without Effect. He sails with the Fleet out of the Port of Sant Jago.

CORTES received the new Charge from *Velasquez* with great Expressions of Respect and Acknowledgment, being as sensibly affected at that Time, with the Confidence the Governor reposed in his Person, as he was afterwards with his Distrust. The Resolution was made publick, and well received among those who desir'd to see that Affair brought to a Conclusion; but occasion'd much Discontent among his Rivals for the Employment.

ment. Those who declared themselves with the greatest Boldness, were the Relations of *Diego Velasquez*, who made very strong Efforts to raise in the Governor a Distrust of *Hernan Cortes*. They told him, That he placed a great deal of Confidence in a Man whom he had so little obliged; that if he consider'd the Conduct of Cortes, he would find that he was not much to be depended on, for that his Words and Actions very seldom agreed; that his Courtesy and Liberality had an Artifice in them, which rendered him suspected to those who are not led away by the bare Appearances of Virtue; that he was over assiduous to gain the Affections of the People; and that such sort of Friends, when they are in great Numbers, are easily form'd into a Party; that he would do well to remember the Disgust his Imprisonment had given him; and that a Man rarely makes true Friends of those, to whom he has given such Occasion of Complaint; for the Wounds of the Mind, as well as of the Body, leave Scars behind, which are wont to put a Man in mind of the Offence, when he has the Power to revenge it. To these they added other Reasons more specious than solid, without much Regard to Truth, aiming to appear zealous in the Governor's Interest, the better to dissemble their real Views.

'Tis reported that *Diego Velasquez*, walking out one Day with *Hernan Cortes*, and

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With his Friends and Relations, a pleasant crack-brain'd Fellow, with whose Whimsies he used to be diverted, said to him, *Thou hast done well, Friend Diego ; shortly there will be Occasion for another Fleet to go in Pursuit of Cortes.* There are some that relate this as a Prophecy, considering how quickly Madmen sometimes hit upon Things, and the Impression that it made on the Mind of the Governor. Let us leave it to Philosophers to dispute whether the foretelling of what is to come be one of the Extravagances of a distempered Imagination, or if it be possible that a Judgment so-disorder'd should be capable of Divination. Let them employ their Wit in searching for Reasons to maintain such an Opinion ; I, for my part, shall believe that this craz'd Person was put upon saying what he did by the Enemies of *Cortes*, and that their Malice was but poorly supported by Reason, when they were obliged to have Recourse to Madness.

BUT *Diego Velasquez* stood firm to his Resolution, and *Hernan Cortes* wholly applied himself to hasten the Preparations for his Departure. The first Step was, to erect his Standard, with the Sign of the Cross, having this Inscription in *Latin*: *Let us follow the Cross, for with this Sign we shall overcome.* He appeared in the Habit of a Soldier, which became his Person well, and suited his Inclinations better. He employed his own Stock liberally, and what he could

borrow from his Friends, in the buying of Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition, in order to hasten the Departure of the Fleet, endeavouring, at the same Time, to draw together a Number of Soldiers for the Expedition, in which he did not find much Difficulty ; for the very Name of the Enterprize, and the Fame of the Captain were so great, that in a few Days were listed three hundred Soldiers among which were *Diego de Ordaz*, principal Confident of the Governor, *Francisco de Morla*, *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, (who has written the History of this Conquest) and other Gentlemen, who shall be named in their proper Place.

THE Time for their Departure being come Orders were given for the Soldiers to embark, which they did in the Day-time, the People all running to the Sight ; and at Night, *Cortes*, accompanied by his Friends, went to take leave of the Governor, who embrac'd him in a very friendly Manner, and the next Morning accompanied him to the Sea-Side, and saw him embark. Small Circumstances, and of little Importance in the History, and which might have been omitted, if they were not necessary to wipe off the Imputation of that early Ingratitude, with which they have reproached *Cortes*, who say, that he forc'd his Way out of the Port with the Fleet ; so *Antonio de Herrera* reports, and those who copy after him, affirming, without any Manner of Reason, that he called the Soldiers together from

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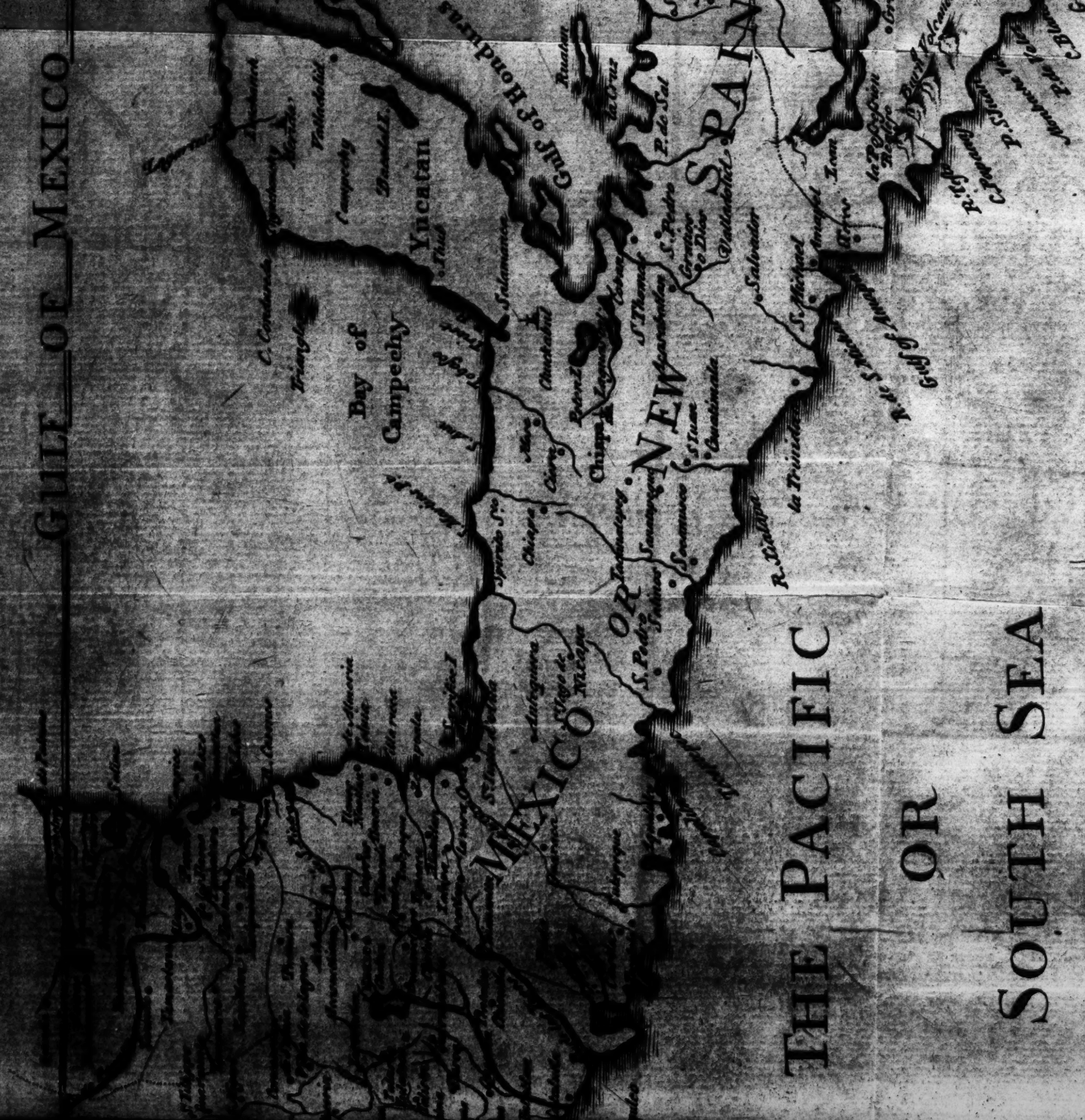
from their Houses at Midnight, embarking with them by Stealth ; and that *Diego Velasquez* going out after him in the Morning, *Cortes* came up to him in a Boat, well armed, and gave him to understand, in a disrespectful Manner, that he no longer had Regard to his Orders. We follow *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who relates what he saw, and is more probable : For it is not to be imagined that a Man so discreet as *Cortes* (had he formed such a Resolution within himself) would so publicly break with *Velasquez*, before he had got out of the Reach of his Jurisdiction ; or he was obliged to touch with his Fleet in other Places of the same Island, to take in Men and Provisions, which he wanted. And tho' we should allow him guilty of this Indiscretion, it does not seem likely, that in so small a Town as was *St. Jago* at that Time, three hundred Men could be call'd from their Houses, and embark in the Night-time, *Diego de Ordaz*, and other Creatures of the Governor being of the Number, and that there should not be one among so many to give him an Account of so extraordinary a Procedure ; or that those who so narrowly observed his Actions, should not awake at the Noise occasion'd by so great a Hurry. A strange sort of Silence in the one, and a very extraordinary Negligence in the other ! We will not deny but that *Cortes* withdrew from his Obedience to *Velasquez* ; but it was some time afterwards, and for the Reasons that shall be shewn.

C H A P. XI.

CORTES sails with the Fleet to La Trinidad where he gets a considerable Reinforcement of Soldiers. His Enemies obtain Point of making Velasquez jealous, uses his utmost Endeavours to stop him.

THE Fleet sailed from the Port of *Jago* in *Cuba*, the Eighteenth of *November*, in the Year of our Lord 1519, and having coasted along the North-Side of the Island, sail'd towards the East, and in a few Days at the Port of *La Trinidad* where *Cortes* had some Friends, who gave a very kind Reception. He presently published his Design, and *Juan de Escalante*, *Sanchez Farfan*, *Gonzalo Mexia*, with considerable Persons of that Settlement, offered to follow his Fortunes. He was join'd too by *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Alonso D'Albuquerque* who had been Captains in the Expedition of *Juan de Grijalva*, and by four Brothers of *Pedro de Alvarado*, viz. *Gonzalo*, *Gomez*, and *Juan de Alvarado*. The Account of this Affair reaching to the Town of *Sancti Spiritus*, which was but a little distance from *La Trinidad*, there came from thence with the same Design of following the Success of *Cortes*, *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Roderigo Rangel*, and *Alonso Velasquez de Leon*, (a Relation of the





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nor's) and other Persons of Distinction, whose Names will be more properly remembered when we shall relate their Exploits. With this Reinforcement of Gentlemen, and a hundred Soldiers, who came from the two Settlements, the Strength of the Fleet was considerably augmented ; and at the same Time there was taken to buy up Provisions, Ammunition, Arms, and some Horses, *Cortes* assisting all who wanted with his own Money : for he knew how to gain their Affection by an obliging Behaviour, by inspiring them with hopes, and by maintaining his Superiority in such a Manner as to let them see he look'd upon himself at the same time as their Companion.

BUT scarce had he turned his Back to the Port of *Sant Jago*, when his Enemies began to cry out against him, talking already of his disobedience, after the Custom of Cowards, who always attack the Absent. *Diego Velasquez* hearken'd to their Discourse, and tho' he seem'd to be displeased, they discover'd in his Mind a Disposition to Jealousy, easy to be work'd up to an entire Distrust ; to which End they made use of an old Man, called *Juan Millan*, who, notwithstanding he was very ignorant, pretended to the Knowledge of *Astrology* : A mad Man of another Kind, and touch'd with a Madness of another Species. This Man, set on by others, having engaged *Velasquez* to Secrecy, acquainted him in mysterious Terms, that this Expedition would have a fortunate and an unfortunate Event ;

giving him to understand, that he had learned so much from the Stars. And tho' *Diego Velasquez* was a Man of sufficient Sense to know the Vanity of such Prognostications nevertheless, as his Foible was Jealousy, this had such an Effect, that notwithstanding he despised the *Astrologer*, he began to be affected by what he said.

FROM such slight Beginnings sprung the first Resolution, which *Diego Velasquez* took to break with *Hernan Cortes*, by depriving him of the Command of the Fleet. He dispatch'd immediately two Couriers to *La Trinidad* with Letters for all his Confidants, and express Orders to *Francisco Verdugo*, his Cousin (who at that Time was chief Alcalde of the Town) to dispossess him of his Captain-General-Ship, in a judicial Way, as supposing his Commission now revoked, and another Person named in his Room.

CORTES was quickly informed of this unexpected Accident, and without being discourag'd at the Difficulty of the Remedy shew'd himself to his Friends and Soldiers that he might know in what Manner they resented the Injury done to their Captain, and how far he might depend upon the Justice of his Cause, by the Judgment they pass'd upon it. He found them all not only in his Interest, but resolved to guard him from such an Injury, tho' it should carry them to the last Extremity, of taking Arms in his Defence. And tho' *Diego de Ordaz*, and *Juan Velasquez*

Velasquez de Leon were less warm, as depending more upon the Governor, they were easily brought over to approve of that which they had not Power to hinder. Being thus secure, he went to visit the chief *Alcalde*, who already knew the Grounds he had to complain. He laid before him the Danger to which he might expose himself in supporting such a Piece of Injustice, by disgusting so many Persons of Distinction as followed him, and how much the Fury of the Soldiers was to be feared, whose Affections he had gained, that he might the better serve *Diego Velasquez*; and that he already found it difficult to keep them within the Bounds of Obedience to him; speaking in such Terms, and with such a kind of Resolution, as appeared both modest and great. *Francisco Verdugo* approved his Reasons, and from a Principle of Generosity, being unwilling to become the Instrument of such Injustice, offered not only to suspend the Execution of the Order, but to write to *Diego Velasquez* to engage him to desist from a Resolution, which was now impracticable, by reason of the Disgust it gave the Soldiers, and could not be executed without very great Inconveniencies. *Diego de Ordaz*, and the rest, who had any Interest in the Governor, offered to do the same, and wrote immediately. *Cortes* likewise wrote to him, complaining in a friendly Manner of his Distrust, without shewing how far he was disgusted, or omitting his ordinary Respect, as one who found himself obliged to

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complain, but desir'd to have no Reason to consider himself as a Person injured.

C H A P. XII.

Cortes sails from La Trinidad to the Havana, where he gets the last Reinforcement for the Fleet, and suffers a second Persecution from Velasquez.

HAVING taken these Measures, which at that Time seem'd sufficient to quiet the Mind of *Velasquez*, *Cortes* resolv'd to prosecute his Voyage ; and sending *Pedro de Alvarado* by Land, with a Party of Soldiers to take care of the Horses, and raise more Men in the Settlements upon the Road, he sail'd with the Fleet for the *Havana*, the most Westerly Part of the Island, where it begins to incline towards the North. The Ships parted from *La Trinidad* with a favourable Wind ; but at the coming on of the Night they separated from the *Capitana*, where *Cortes* was on Board, without observing, as they ought, the Course he stood, or perceiving the Error of their Pilots, until the Light of the Day discovered it : But being now far advanced, they continued their Voyage, and arriv'd at the *Havana*, where the Soldiers went on Shore. They were kindly and liberally entertained by *Pedro de Barba*, at that Time Governor of the

the *Havana*, under *Velasquez*. They were all concerned that they had not waited for their Captain, or turned back in search of him; but their Discourses on that Occasion went no farther than to furnish themselves with Excuses against his Arrival.

BUT perceiving that he staid longer than they thought it was possible he could, unless some Misfortune had befallen him, they began to be uneasy, and divided into various Opinions. Some were for sending two or three Vessels in search of him amongst the neighbouring Islands; others proposed to name a Commander in Chief in his Absence; but others thought such a Proposition unseasonable. However, as no body commanded, every one gave his Verdict, and nothing was done. He who most insisted upon their naming a Commander, was *Diego de Ordaz*, who, as Confident of *Velasquez*, expected to be preferred to the rest, and thought that by the gaining of this Point, he should stand fair to obtain that Post from *Velasquez*. But at last, after a Dispute of seven Days, *Cortes* safely arrived with the *Capitana*.

HIS Delay was occasion'd by the Fleet's passing over some Flats which are between the Harbour of *La Trinidad* and the Cape *St. Anthony*, at a small Distance from the *Isle of Pines*, where the *Capitana*, as being the largest Ship, struck, and was in Danger of being over-set: An Accident which gave *Cortes* no little Trouble, but withal, served to raise his Reputation; for animating his Men, on View of the

the Danger, he gave such Orders as were necessary with great Presence of Mind, and used the utmost Expedition, without Confusion. His first Care was to put out his Boat, and take out the Ship's Lading, which was carried to a little sandy Island hard by; by which Means he so far lightened her, as to set her afloat: after which, getting clear of the Shoal, he took her Lading on Board again, and pursued his Course, having thus spent the seven Days he was detain'd, much to the Advantage of his Reputation.

PEDRO de Barba lodged him in his own House, and he was received with great Acclamations by his Soldiers, whose Numbers immediately increased, several of the Inhabitants and Gentlemen entring into the Service. Among whom were *Francisco de Montejo* who was afterwards the King's Lieutenant of *Tucatan*, *Diego de Soto del Toro*, *Garci Caro*, *Juan Seden*, and other Persons of Distinction and Fortune, who very much added to the Reputation of the Enterprize, and completed the Equipment of the Fleet. These Preparations took up some Days: But as *Cortes* knew not how to be idle the Time he staid there, he commanded the Artillery to be brought on Shore to be cleaned and proved, ordering the Cannoniers to observe exactly how far each Gun would carry; and as there was great Plenty of Cotton thereabouts, he directed the making a sufficient Quantity of defensive Arms. These were a kind of Quilts,

in the Form of great Coats, which were called *Eſcaupilles*: Neceſſity inventing what Experience afterwards approved; it being found that a little Cotton, ſtitched between two Cloths, was a better Defence than Iron againſt the Arrows and Darts of the *Indians*; for they loſt their Force by the weak Reſiſtance they met with, and were likewise hinder'd from ſhancing from one Man to another.

At the ſame Time he exerciſed his Soldiers in the Uſe of their Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows, and the Management of their Pikes: He taught them how to form a Battalion, and file off in order; how to charge, and how to ſeize a Poſt; inſtructing them both by Voice and Example in the Rudiments of War; after the Manner of the great Captains of Antiquity, who by feigned Battles and Affaults, taught new Beginners the military Art. Which Practice, in Time of Peace, was in ſo much Eſteem among the *Romans*, that from this kind of Exerciſe they gave their Armies the Name of *Exercitus*.

With the like Diligence and Ardor he went on with the reſt of his Preparations: But when every one was rejoicing at the Approach of the Day appointed for their Departure, *Gaſper de Garnica*, a Servant of *Velaſquez*, arrived at the *Havana*, with freſh Orders to *Pedro de Barba*, expreſſy enjoining him to diſpoſſeſs *Cortes* of the Command of the Fleet, and to ſend him Priſoner with a good Convoy; telling him how highly he had been diſpleas'd

plea'd with *Francisco Verdugo* for letting him go from *La Trinidad*; and withal, giving him to understand how much he would risque in not complying with his Orders. He likewise wrote to *Diego de Ordaz*, and to *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, to be assisting to *Pedro de Barba* in the Execution of his Commands. But *Cortes* was advertis'd of what was doing from several Hands, and even by *Garnica*. They warn'd him to take care of himself, since he who first entrusted this Enterprize to his Conduct, was now going to discard him in a manner highly injurious to his Honour, and freed him from the Scandal of Ingratitude, by forcing from him the Favour for which he stood oblig'd.

C H A P. XIII.

Cortes resolves not to put himself in the Power of Velasquez: The just Motives of this Resolution: With what further pass'd till the Time of the Fleet's sailing from the Havana.

ALTHOUGH *Cortes* was a Man of great Spirit, he could not help being shock'd with this new Attempt, which touch'd him the more sensibly, by how much the less it was expected; for he thought *Velasquez* had been satisfied with the Assurances that had been given him by all in their Answer to his first

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first Orders, which came to *La Trinidad*: But being convinced of his Obstinacy by these new Orders, he began, with less Temper, to think of taking care of himself. On the one Side, he saw himself applauded and esteem'd by all who followed him; and on the other, degraded, and condemned to Prison like a Criminal. He acknowledged that *Velasquez* had expended some Money in fitting out the Fleet; but then the greatest Part of the Charge was borne by himself and his Friends, and almost all the Soldiers were rais'd upon their Credit. He revolv'd in his Mind all the Circumstances of the Injury done him; and considering the Slights he had hitherto suffered, he grew angry with himself, and, not without Reason, blam'd his own Patience; for this Virtue passing beyond the Bounds assign'd to it by Reason, degenerates into Meanness of Spirit and Insensibility. He was also concerned for the Enterprize, which he foresaw would entirely miscarry, if he quitted the Conduct of it; but that which most sensibly affected him, was the Wound given to his Honour, which (to those who understand its Value) is dearer than Life itself.

UPON these Reflections, and this Occasion of Resentment, *Cortes* took his first Resolution of breaking with *Velasquez*. Whence it appears how little Justice *Antonio de Herrera* has done him, by placing this Breach in the City of *St. Jago*, at a Time when he had just received such singular Obligations. But we shall adhere to what is related by *Bernal Diaz del*

del Castillo, an Author not the most favourable to *Cortes*; for *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo* affirms, That he acknowledged his Dependancy on the Governor *Velasquez*, till upon his Arrival in *New Spain* he set up for himself, giving an Account to the Emperor of the Advantages made by him in that Conquest.

THE Pains I have bestowed in clearing the Character of *Cortes* from these early Reproaches, must not be thought a Digression from the Subject: I am as far from flattering those whom I undertake to defend, as from hating others whom I condemn: But when Truth points out the Way to justify the first Steps in a Man's Conduct, who knew how to make himself so considerable by his Actions, I ought to follow the Path, and to be pleased with discovering those Accounts to be most authentick which serve best to establish his Reputation.

I AM very sensible that an Historian should by no Means conceal what deserves Reproof; for Examples are as useful to make Vice abhorred, as to allure us to the Imitation of Virtue: But it argues a wrong Turn in an Author to put the worst Construction upon a Man's Actions, and to relate as Truth their own innatur'd Conjectures, is a Fault of which some Writers are guilty, who have read *Tacitus* with an Ambition to imitate that which in Reality is inimitable, and fancy they enter into the Spirit of that Author, when they put such

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interpretations upon Things, as favour more of Spleen than Art.

BUT to return to our History: *Cortes* judging that it was now no longer a Time to smother his Resentment, or take too cautious Measures, which are generally Enemies to great Resolutions, resolved to provide for himself, and make use of the Force he was Master of as Occasion should require. To this End, before *Pedro de Barba* had determined to publish the Order he had against him, he made haste to send away from the *Havana*, *Diego de Ordaz*, whose Fidelity he suspected very much, on Account of the Efforts he had made to be chosen Commander in Chief in his Absence: He therefore ordered him to embark immediately on Board one of the Vessels, and to make the best of his Way to *Guanicanico*, a Settlement situate on the other Side of the Cape *St. Antonio*, to take in some Provisions which he had directed to be carried to that Place, and there to wait his Arrival, with the rest of the Fleet. *Cortes* assisted in putting his Order in Execution with his usual Diligence and Calmness; and by this means got quickly rid of a Person who might have given some Opposition to his Design. He went then to visit *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, whom he easily brought over to his Interest, being himself not a little displeased with the Proceedings of his Relation, and withal more tractable, and of less Artifice than *Diego de Ordaz*.

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HAVING taken these Precautions, he shew'd himself to the Soldiers, acquainting them with the new Persecution that threatned him. They all offer'd him their Services, agreeing in the Resolution of assisting him, but differing in the Manner of expressing themselves. The Zeal of the Gentry appear'd as the natural Effect of the Obligations they had to him; but the rest declar'd in his Behalf with so much Heat, as to give Uneasiness to the Person whose Favour it was design'd: And it appear'd by their Clamours and Threats on this Occasion, how much a good Cause may suffer in the Hands of the Multitude.

BUT *Pedro de Barba* apprehending the Consequences of not appeasing this Tumult at Time, went to *Cortes*, and appearing publickly with him, quieted all in a Moment, declaring aloud, That he did not design to execute the Order of *Velasquez*, or to have any Share in so great an Injustice. This turn'd all their Threats into Acclamations: And he presently shew'd the Sincerity of his Intentions, by publickly dispatching *Gasper de Geronima* with a Letter to *Velasquez*; in which he told him, That this was not a Time to follow *Cortes*, who was too well attended to himself be ill treated, or to be reduc'd to Obedience by Violence. He represented to him in the strongest Terms, the Ferment his Order had occasioned among the Soldiers, and the Danger the Town had been in by the Commotion; and concluded his Letter with a

ing him to regain *Cortes* by Acts of Friendship, adding new Favours to those he had already bestow'd, and relying on his Gratitude for what could not be compass'd either by Persuasion or Force.

THIS Affair being over, *Cortes* employ'd his Thoughts to hasten his Departure; which he found necessary, in order to quiet the Minds of the Soldiers, who were disturb'd afresh by the Report that *Velasquez* resolv'd to come himself, and put his Orders in Execution. He said that he had form'd this Design; in which he would have run a very great Risque, without succeeding: For Authority is but a weak Argument, when oppos'd both to Reason and Power.

C H A P. XIV.

Cortes names the Officers of his Fleet; parts from the Havana; and arrives at the Isle of Cozumel, where he musters his Troops, and animates his Soldiers to the Undertaking.

A Brigantine of moderate Burden having joined the ten Vessels which composed his Fleet, *Cortes* distributed his Men into eleven Companies, putting one on Board each Vessel; and named for Captains *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero*,

carrero, Francisco de Montez, Christoval de Olid, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco Saucedo, and Diego de Ordaz, whom he had not sent out of the Way with an Intention to forget him nor was he willing to disoblige him by not giving him an Employment. He reserved for himself the Command of the *Capitana*, and intrusted the Care of the Brigantine to *Gine di Nortes*. The Command of the Artillery he bestow'd upon *Francisco de Orozco*, a Soldier who had signaliz'd himself in the Wars of *Italy*; and chose for his chief Pilot *Antonio de Alaminos*, a Man of Experience in those Seas, having served in the same Quality in the two Voyages of *Francisco Fernandez* and *Cordova* and *Juan de Grijalva*. He drew up Instructions for his Officers; wherein, with singular Foresight, he provided against Contingencies; and the Day of Embarkation being come, they celebrated a Mass of the Holy Ghost with great Solemnity, at which all the Soldiers very devoutly assisted, recommending to God the Beginning of an Enterprize, the Success of which they expected from his divine Assistance. *Hernan Cortes*, as the first Act of his Command, gave the Word *St. Peter*, thereby acknowledging him the Patron of this Expedition, as he had been of all his Actions from his Childhood. After which he ordered *Pedro de Alvarado* to sail for the North Coast in search of *Diego de Ordaz*, in *Guanicanico* and after they were joined, to wait for the Fleet

at Cape *St. Antonio*. The rest of the Vessels had Instructions to follow the *Capitana*; and in case they should be separated by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, to stand for the Isle of *Cozumel*, discover'd by *Juan de Grijalva*, which was but little distant from the Land they were in search of, and where *Cortes* propos'd to consider and resolve on what should be most necessary for the Prosecution of their Enterprize.

IN fine, they parted from the *Havana* the 10th of *February*, 1519. The Wind at first was favourable, but did not long continue so; for at Sun-set there arose a furious Storm, which put them in great Disorder; and when the Night came, the Ships were oblig'd to separate, that they might not run foul on each other, and to put right before the Wind. The Ship that *Francisco de Morla* commanded suffer'd most, a Break of the Sea carrying away the Rudder, whereby he was in great Hazard of being lost. He fired several Guns as a Signal of Distress, which gave extreme Concern to the rest of the Captains; who, notwithstanding their own Danger, were alarm'd at this, and did all that was possible to keep near him, sometimes bearing up against Wind and Sea, and then again giving way to their Violence. But the Storm ended with the Night; and as soon as they had Light enough to distinguish Objects, *Cortes* was the first who came up with the Ship in Danger, the rest following

his Example; and the Damage she had suffer'd was soon repair'd.

At this Time *Pedro de Alvarado*, who was gone in search of *Diego de Ordaz*, discover'd by Day-break that the same Storm had forc'd him into the Gulph a great Way farther than he imagin'd: For in order to keep clear of the Shore, he had been oblig'd to put out into the open Sea, as least dangerous. The Pilot found by his Compass and Chart, that he was fall'n very far from the Course prescrib'd to him, and was at such a Distance from the Cape *St. Antonio*, that his Return would have been very difficult; wherefore he propos'd it, as most adviseable, to sail directly for the Isle of *Cumel*. *Alvarado* left it to his own Choice, representing to him the Order of *Cortes* in such a Manner, as look'd very like dispensing with it. Hereupon they continued their Voyage, and arriv'd at the Island two Days before the Fleet. They landed with a Design to locate themselves in a small Town near the Coast, well known to the Captain, and some of the Soldiers, since the Voyage of *Grijalva*; but they found it deserted: For the *Indians*, on the first Notice that the *Spaniards* were landed, abandon'd their Houses, retiring far into the Country, with what poor Moveables they had, such light Baggage giving no Obstruction to their Flight.

PEDRO de Alvarado was a young Man of Spirit and Valour, well qualified for a

Interprize where he received Orders, but of too little Experience to give them. He had a mistaken Notion, that, while the Fleet was coming, any thing but Inaction would be Virtue in a Soldier; and therefore ordered his Men to march, and take a View of the inner Part of the Island, and at little more than a League's Distance they found another Town forsaken in the same Manner, but not so entirely unfurnished as the former; for here were some Cloaths and Provisions, which the Soldiers seized as Spoils of an Enemy; and in a Temple of one of their Idols they found divers Jewels, which served to adorn it, and some Instruments for sacrificing, made of Gold, mixed with Copper, which though of small Value, they took away. This Expedition did by no means promote the Service they were upon, but, on the contrary, frightened the *Indians*, and cross'd the Design of gaining their Friendship. *Pedro de Alvarado* grew sensible, (tho' too late) that he had made a false Step, and retired to his first Post, having taken three Prisoners, two Men and a Woman, who not being able to escape, surrender'd without any Opposition.

THE next Day *Cortes* arrived with the whole Fleet, having sent to *Diego de Ordaz*, at Cape *St. Antonio*, to join him, suspecting, as it prov'd, that the Storm would hinder *Alvarado* from executing his Orders; and tho' inwardly well pleased to find him there in Safety, he commanded the Pilot to be imprisoned,

soned, and reprimanded the Captain very sharply, as well for not having observed his Directions, as for his Presumption in marching into the Island, and permitting his Soldiers to plunder. This Rebuke he gave in publick with Design that it might serve as a Warning to the rest. He presently called for the three Prisoners, and by *Melchior*, (the only Interpreter he had in this Voyage, his Companion being dead) informed them how much he was concerned at what the Soldiers had done; and ordering the Gold and Cloaths to be restored he set them at Liberty, giving them some trifling Presents for their Caziques, that these Tokens of Amity might induce them to lay aside the Fear they had conceived.

THE *Spaniards* encamp'd on the Sea-side where they rested three Days, without marching any farther, that they might not occasion any Disturbance among the *Indians*. After which *Cortes* mustered his Army, and found that it consisted of five hundred and eight Soldiers, sixteen Horse, and of Mechanics, Pilots and Mariners, an hundred and nine more besides two Chaplains, the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, and Father *Bartholomè de Olmedo*, Regular of the Order of our Lady *de la Merced*, who accompanied *Cortes* to the End of his Expedition.

THE Muster being over, he returned to his Quarters, attended by his Captains and principal Soldiers; and taking his Seat in the Middle of them, he spoke in the following Manner:

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“ WHEN I consider, my Friends and Companions, the good Fortune that has brought us together in this Island, the Obstacles and Persecutions we have surmounted, and in what Manner all Difficulties have been remov’d, I acknowledge the Hand of God in the Work we have undertaken, and promise myself Success, from Beginnings so remarkably favoured by his Divine Providence. It is his Cause, and That of our King (which is likewise his) which carries us to undertake the Conquest of unknown Regions; and the Almighty, in fighting our Cause, will fight his own. I have no Design to lessen the Danger of the Undertaking: We are to expect bloody Engagements, incredible Fatigues, and such Multitudes of Enemies, that it will require all your Valour to sustain their Attacks: Besides these, the Want of Necessaries, Inclemencies of Weather, and difficult Marches, will exercise your Patience, which is accounted a second-rate Valour, and shews as much Greatness of Spirit as the first; for very often in War, Patience brings that to bear, which Force could not. By this *Hercules* gained the Name of *Invincible*, and his Exploits were called *Labours*. You have been accustomed to suffer and to fight in those Islands, which you have already conquered: Our present Undertaking is of greater Importance; we must pursue it with answerable Vigour, and proportion our Resolution to the Difficulty of our Enterprize.

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“terprize. Antiquity has painted the Temple
“of *Fame* upon the highest Part of the Mountain,
“and her Image upon the highest Part of
“the Temple; thereby giving to understand
“that to find her, even after we have gained
“the Top of the Mountain, we must look
“higher. We are but few in Number, but
“Union multiplies Armies, and in our Agreement
“consists our greatest Strength. We
“must, my Friends, be all of one Mind to
“resolve, and as one Hand to execute: Our
“Interests should be the same, and the Glory
“of Conquest ought to be equally shared
“among us: The Valour of every one in particular,
“must establish the Security of all in general.
“I am your Commander, and will
“be the first to hazard my Life for the meanest
“of the Soldiers. Your Care shall be to follow
“low my Example rather than my Orders;
“and I can assure you that I find in myself a
“Courage sufficient to undertake the Conquest
“of the whole World: My Heart even
“flatters me with this Hope from I know not
“what extraordinary Impulse, the most promising
“of all Presages. To conclude, let
“our Words be succeeded by Actions; and
“let not this Confidence of mine be thought
“Temerity, since it is so well supported by
“you, from whom I expect every Thing that
“is wanting in myself.”

THUS did he persuade and animate his Men; when Notice came, that some *Indians* were seen at a little Distance. And altho' they
came

came in separate Parties, and without Arms, Cortes commanded his Men to be rang'd in Order, without Beat of Drum, and to stand cover'd behind their Lines, till they saw whether they drew near, and with what Design.

CHAP. XV.

Cortes pacifies the Inhabitants of Cozumel: He establishes a Friendship with the Caxique; overthrows their Idols; begins to introduce the Gospel; and endeavours in vain to recover some Spaniards, who were Prisoners at Yucatan.

THE *Indians* who were in small Troops, seemed to be consulting among themselves, and watching the Motions of the *Spaniards*, whose Posture carrying no Appearance of Hostility, encourag'd the boldest amongst them to draw near by little and little; and these receiving no ill Treatment, were followed by the more fearful, so that some of them soon enter'd the Camp; where they were so favourably received by *Cortes*, and by all, that they called to the rest of their Companions. There came great Numbers that very Day, and mingled among the Soldiers with much Familiarity and Confidence, scarce discovering the least Surprize, which strongly argued that they were a People accustomed to converse with Strangers. There was an Idol
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in this Island extremely revered by the *Barbarians*, who were continually flocking to worship it from different Provinces of the Continent; so that the Islanders of *Ceana* had a perpetual Commerce with People of divers Nations, Habits, and Languages, which made the Arrival of the *Spaniards* appear the less strange, or at least enabled them to conceal their Surprise.

At Night they all retired to their Houses, and the next Day the principal *Cazique* of the Island came to visit *Cortes*, with a numerous, but ill-appointed Equipage, delivering his Embassy and Present himself. The General received him with great Joy and Courtesy; and, by his Interpreter, return'd Thanks for the Visit, with an Offer of his own Friendship, and that of his Followers. To which the *Cazique* replied, That he accepted the Friendship offer'd, and as a Man who knew how to preserve it. One, among the *Indians* who accompanied him, was heard to repeat after a bad Manner the Name of *Castilla*; and *Cortes*, whose Attention nothing could ever divert from his main Point, observed the Word, and commanded the Interpreter to inquire into the Meaning of it. This Remark, though it seem'd then accidental, was of the utmost Importance in facilitating the Conquest of *New Spain*, as we shall see hereafter.

THE *Indians* said, that our Men very much resembled certain Prisoners who were in *Tucatan*,

the Natives of a Country called *Castilla*. Which *Cortes* no sooner heard than he resolv'd to set them at Liberty, and engage them in his Service. Upon informing himself more particularly, he found that they were in the Power of some *Indians* of the highest Rank, residing two Days Journey within the Province of *Yucatan*. *Cortes* communicated his Intention to the *Cazique*, and asked him whether those were warlike *Indians*, and what Force would be necessary to rescue the Christians from Slavery. The *Cazique* gave him a very ready and reasonable Answer, telling him the surest Way would be to ransom them; for that endeavouring to release them by Force of Arms would expose them to the Hazard of being massacred by their Masters. *Cortes* embrac'd his Advice, with Admiration to find so much good Sense and Policy in the *Cazique*, whose Rank among Princes, though inconsiderable, must have taught him some Principles of what they call Reason of State.

He immediately gave Orders to *Diego de Ordaz* to sail with his Vessel and Company to the Coast of *Yucatan*, by the shortest Cut from the Isle of *Cozumel*, (which might be about four Leagues over) where he was to land the *Indians* appointed by the *Cazique* for this Purpose. They carried a Letter from *Cortes* to the Prisoners, together with some Trifles for their Ransom, and *Ordaz* was commanded to stay eight Days for them, in which Time the *Indians* undertook to return with an Answer.

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IN the mean time *Cortes* marched with his Troops in a Body to take a View of the Island; not that he saw any Necessity for being on his Guard, but to keep the Soldiers together, and to secure the Inhabitants from being insulted. He told his Men, That they were an indigent People, unable to defend themselves; that the Sincerity they shew'd, entitle them to good Treatment in Return, and that their Poverty was such as gave no Temptation to Avarice: That they were not to expect from that small Spot of Ground any other Wealth than a good Reputation: " And do not think " (added he) that the good Character you shall " acquire here will be confined within the " narrow Limits of this miserable Island; for " the Concourse of Pilgrims, who, as you " have been informed, are accustomed to resort hither from all Parts, will carry your " Name to distant Countries, where the Character of Humanity and Justice will be of " signal Use to facilitate our Designs; and by " this means we shall meet with less Opposition in Countries where more is to be " gained." By such Discourses as these, he kept the Soldiers within Bounds. He was always accompanied by the *Cazique*, and great Numbers of *Indians*, who supplied him with Provisions, and exchange'd Gold for Glass Beads, believing that they over-reach'd the *Spaniards*, and could never purchase those Toys at too dear a Rate.

At a little Distance from the Coast stood the Temple of the Idol, so much revered by the *Indians*. It was a Square Building of Stone, and of no contemptible Architecture. The Idol bore the Figure of a Man, but of such an horrible Aspect as plainly discover'd the Original it was design'd to represent. This Circumstance of Deformity was observable in all the Idols worshipp'd by these miserable People, however they otherwise differ'd in Make or Signification; whether it were that their Imaginations hit luckily in this respect, or that the Devil really appeared to them in some such Shape; so that he who struck out the most hideous Figure, was accounted the best Workman.

'Tis said this Idol was called *Cozumel*, and gave to the Island the Name which it retains to this Day; but very improperly, if it be the same which the Devil took to himself; and it must, through Inadvertency, have been made use of in our Maps, being contrary to all Reason. The *Spaniards* found a very great Concourse of *Indians* at the Temple, and in the midst of them a Priest, distinguished from the rest by a certain Ornament, or Part of a Covering, which scarcely hid his Nakedness. He seem'd to preach, and to persuade them to something, by a Tone and Actions extremely ridiculous; for he gave himself the Airs of a Preacher, with all the Gravity and Authority, of which a Man dress'd after such a Manner was capable. *Cortes* interrupted him;

him; and turning towards the Cazique, said to him, "That in order to maintain the Friendship between them, it was absolutely necessary for him to renounce the Worship of his Idols, and to influence his Subjects to do the same by his Example." After which he took him aside with his Interpreter, and shew'd him the Error of his own, and the Truth of the *Christian* Religion, by such Arguments as were accommodated to his Capacity, but so convincing, that the *Indian* was confounded, and would not venture to return any Answer, as having sufficient Understanding to be conscious of his own Ignorance. He recovered himself, and desired Leave to communicate the Affair to the Priests, with whom he left the Authority to decide absolutely in Matters of Religion. The Result of this Conference was the bringing before *Cortes* that venerable Preacher, with others of his Profession, who all made loud Outcries, which, as explain'd by the Interpreter, were Protestations on the Part of Heaven, against those who should be so audacious as to disturb the Worship of their Gods, denouncing immediate Punishment upon the Attempt. *Cortes* was incens'd at their Menaces; and the Soldiers guessing his Intention from his Looks, immediately attacked their Idol, overturning the Altar, and breaking it in Pieces, with several other Idols of a smaller Size, placed in different Niches. The *Indians* were astonished at the Sight of this Destruction; but as the Heavens were serene, and

and the expected Vengeance delayed to come down, their Adoration was chang'd into Contempt, and they began to despise such suffering Gods. And this Passion was the first Effort that Truth made in their Hearts. The rest of their Temples suffer'd the same Fate; but in the Chief of them (when cleans'd from the impure fragments) the *Spaniards* built an Altar, whereon they placed the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, erecting at the Entrance a large Cross, made by the Carpenters of the Fleet, with equal Zeal and Diligence. The Day following, Mass was said at that Altar, where the *Cazique*, accompanied by his *Indians*, assisted with a Silence that looked like Devotion; and perhaps it naturally flow'd from that Respect which is imprinted on the Mind by our Holy Ceremonies, or was a supernatural Effect of the ineffable Mystery contain'd in that Sacrifice.

THUS did *Cortes* employ his Time and his Soldiers, during the Term of eight Days, which he had allowed *Diego de Ordaz* to stay for the *Spaniards*, who were Prisoners in *Yucatan*; but he returned to the Island without bringing any Account either of them, or the *Indians* who were sent in quest of them. *Cortes* was highly displeased; but believing the Barbarians had deceived him by false Intelligence, in order to gain the Presents he had sent for their Ransom, of which they seemed so extremely fond, he did not care any longer to delay his Voyage, or to impart his

his Suspicions to the Cazique. On the contrary, he took his Leave of him with great Civility, and Tokens of an entire Satisfaction, earnestly recommending to him the Cross and the Holy Image, which he left in his Power in confidence that out of Friendship to him he would pay them a Respect, till being more instructed in the Truth, he should be engaged to do it from better Motives.

C H A P. XVI.

Cortes pursues his Voyage; but by an Accident finds himself obliged to return to the same Island. Geronimo de Aguilar, who had been Prisoner in Yucatan, arrives during his Stay there, and gives an Account of his Captivity.

CORTES put to Sea with a Design to follow the same Course which *Juan Grijalva* had done before, and to discover the Countries from which he had retired, by the scrupulous an Obedience to the Orders he had receiv'd. The Fleet had the Wind a-stern and all were overjoy'd at the prosperous Beginning of their Voyage, when an unexpected Accident gave them great Uneasiness. *Juan de Esculante* fired a Gun, and the rest of the Commanders, casting their Eyes toward him, observ'd that he followed with Difficulty,

and

and soon after tacked about, and stood for the Island. *Cortes* very well understood the meaning of what he saw, and without staying to deliberate, immediately ordered all the Fleet to follow him. *Juan de Escalante* stood in need of all his Diligence to save his Vessel; for she had sprung a Leak, and took in so much Water, that she was upon the point of sinking when she reach'd the Shore, notwithstanding all possible Expedition had been used in coming to his Relief. The Soldiers landed; and the *Cazique* presently came down with his *Indians*, and seemed to be surprized at the sudden Return: But when they understood the Reason, they very chearfully helped to unload the Vessel; and afterwards assisted in repairing and careening it, managing their Canoes with great Dexterity, and performing singular Service upon this Occasion.

WHILE this was doing, *Cortes*, accompanied by the *Cazique*, and some of his Soldiers, went to visit the Temple, and found the Cross and Image of the Virgin *Mary* in the same Place where he had left them; observing withal, to his great Satisfaction, some Signs of the Veneration paid them by these Barbarians, in the Cleanness of the Temple, and the Perfumes they had burned, besides flowers and Boughs with which they had adorned the Altar. *Cortes* thanked the *Cazique* for the Care he had taken in his Absence. The *Indian* was pleas'd, and received the Compliments of the *Spaniards*, as if it had

been an Instance of his extraordinary Conduct that the Image and Altar had stood undemolish'd for no longer a Time, at the most, than two or three Hours.

THE Accident that thus retarded the Voyage of *Cortes* deserves a particular Remark being an Event that may be rank'd with Things depending on Fortune, and yet carrying the Appearance of something more than of Hazard, or Chance. They who saw the Count of their Voyage stopp'd, and a Ship ready to founder, could consider it no otherwise than as a Misfortune which very ordinarily happens: But whoever will reflect that the same Time that was necessary for the refitting the Ship, was no less necessary for the Arrival of a *Christian Captive* at that Island, who had been Prisoner in *Yucatan*, sufficiently instructed in the different Languages of those People to supply the Want of an Interpreter, and that he was afterwards one of the principal Instruments of this Conquest, cannot attribute this to Fortune, but must own the Hand of Providence in a very extraordinary Manner.

THEY were four Days refitting the Vessel and on the last, as they were going to embark, they discovered, at a Distance, a Canoe, which was crossing the Gulph of *Yucatan*, and stood directly for the Island. They quickly perceived that she was filled with armed *Indians*, and were surprized at the Diligence they used to come up, without shewing any Fear of the Fleet. *Cortes* being informed of this

his, gave Orders to *Andres de Tapia* to place himself in Ambuscade near the Place at which the Canoe was to land the *Indians*, and to discover their Designs. *Andres de Tapia* took his Post accordingly, where he could not be seen: But finding they came on Shore with their Bows and Arrows, he suffer'd them to pass by him a little way from the Coast, and then cut off their Retreat. As soon as the *Indians* discovered him, they fled; but one amongst them stopp'd the rest, and advancing three or four Paces, pronounc'd with a loud Voice, in the *Castilian* Tongue, that he was a Christian. *Andres de Tapia* received him with open Arms; and full of Joy for his good Fortune, conducted him to the General, followed by the *Indians*, who appeared to be the Messengers left by *Diego de Ordaz* upon the Coast of *Yucatan*. The Christian had nothing to cover him, except just enough to hide his Nakedness. On one of his Shoulders he bore his Bow and Quiver; and over the other was thrown a Mantle like a Cloak, in one Corner whereof was tied our Lady's Office, which he immediately shew'd the *Spaniards*, ascribing to his Devotion the good Fortune of seeing himself again amongst Christians. He made his Compliments very awkwardly, not being able to forbear his new Manner, or to deliver what he had to say, without intermixing with his *Spanish* some Terms that were not understood. *Cortes* caress'd him extremely; and covering him with the Coat he had

on, informed himself in general who he was and afterwards gave Orders to have him cloathed, and regaled. He published it among his Soldiers, as a singular Felicity both to himself and the Undertaking, that he had redeemed a Christian from Slavery, having no other Motive in View at that Time than pure Charity.

THIS Man was called *Jerom de Aguilar* a Native of *Ecija*, where he had received Deacon's Orders; and, according to the Account he afterwards gave of his Adventures, had been near eight Years in that miserable Slavery. He was shipwreck'd in a Caravel upon the Flats of the *Alacranes*, as he was passing from *Darien* to the Island of *St. Domingo*, and escaping in the Boat with twenty more in Company, was driven upon the Shore of *Yucatan* where they were taken, and carried to a Country of *Caribee Indians*, whose Cazique immediately cull'd out the best-fed amongst them to offer them to his Idols, and afterwards to feast on the wretched Remains of the Sacrifice. One of those who were reserved for another Occasion, by Reason of their Leanness, was this *Jerom de Aguilar*: They used him very rigorously, but at the same Time inhumanly feasted him, that he might be in better Plight to furnish a second Banquet: Amazing Brutality! detestable to Nature, and not to be related without Horror! *Aguilar* made a Shift to escape out of a wooden Cage, in which he was confin'd; not so much to save his Life, as to seek another kind of Death: And

and wandering several Days at a Distance from all Settlements, without any other Nourishment than what the Herbs of the Field afforded, he fell into the Hands of certain *Indians*, who presented him to their Cazique, an Enemy to him from whom *Aguilar* had made his escape. This Master used him with more Humanity, either in Contradiction to the other, or perhaps because he had a real Aversion to his Cruelties. *Aguilar* served him some Years, running through different Fortunes in this new slavery: For at first he oblig'd him to work beyond his Strength; but afterwards treated him better, being seemingly pleas'd with his Obedience, and especially with his Modesty of which the *Spaniard* gave some Proofs, more admirable, than the Tryals of it are decent to be related; for there is no Temper so barbarous as to be wholly void of the Regard due to Virtue. Accordingly the Cazique gave him an Employment near his Person, and *Aguilar* in a little Time acquir'd his Esteem and Confidence.

THIS Cazique dying, recommended him to his Son, under whom he held the same Employment, and found a favourable Occasion of increasing his Credit; for the neighbouring Caziques making War upon him, he gained several Victories over them by the Valour and Conduct of *Aguilar*, who thereupon became so great a Favourite both of Prince and People, and was in so much Authority when he received the Letter from *Cortes*, that he could,

without Difficulty, treat for his Liberty, as the Recompence of his Services; and offer, as his own Gift, the Presents which were sent as his Ransom.

THUS did *Aguilar* relate his Adventures, adding withal, that of the rest of the *Spaniards* Prisoners, there remained alive only one Sailor, born at *Palos de Moguer*, called *Gonzalo Guerrero*; that he had communicated to him the Letter of *Cortes*, and endeavour'd to bring him with him, but without Effect, he having married a rich *Indian*, by whom he had three or four Children, and excusing his Stay by his Love for them, pretending natural Affection as a Reason why he would not abandon those deplorable Conveniencies, which with him weighed more than Honour or Religion. We do not find that any other *Spaniard*, in the whole Course of these Conquests, committed the like Crime; nor was the Name of this Wretch worthy to be remember'd in this History: But being found in the Writings of others, it could not be conceal'd; and his Example serves to shew us the Weakness of Nature, and into what an Abyss of Misery a Man may fall, when God has abandon'd him.

C H A P. XVII.

Cortes prosecutes his Voyage, and arrives at the River of Grijalva, where the Indians oppose his Landing : He engages them, and disembarks his Troops.

THE *Spaniards* left this Island, the second Time, on the 4th of *March*, 1519; and, without any Adventure worthy of remark, they doubled the Point of *Catoche*, which, as we have already said, is the most westerly Part of *Yucatan*; and following the Coast, they came to the Road of *Champaton*; where the Question was put, in a Council held on that Subject, Whether they should land, or not? *Cortes* inclined to the Affirmative, that he might chastise the *Indians* for the Opposition given to *Juan de Grijalva*, and before that, to *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*; and some Soldiers who had been present on both those Occasions, pushed by a Spirit of Revenge, supported his Opinion with extreme Warmth: But the chief Pilot, and the rest of his Profession, opposed it with unanswerable Reasons; for the Wind that favour'd the Continuance of their Voyage, directly oppos'd their landing in that Place: Whereupon they pursued their Course, and arrived at the River of *Grijalva*. There was no Occasion to deliberate here: for the good Treatment which the *Spaniards* had formerly

receiv'd from the *Indians* of *Tabasco*, and the Gold at that Time brought from thence, were two powerful Attractives to carry them ashore; and *Cortes* the more readily complied with the Inclinations of his Soldiers, for the sake of maintaining Friendship with the Inhabitants, although he had no Design to stay there many Days; for his Thoughts were continually bent on the Dominions of *Moteczuma*, which *Juan de Grijalva* had the first Account in this Province; it being his Opinion that in this Sort of Expeditions, it was advisable to begin with attacking the Head rather than the Members, and so encounter the greatest Difficulty with his Forces entire.

As he had some Knowledge of this Place by the Experience of those who had been there before, he made a Disposition for entering the River; and leaving the larger Vessels at an Anchor, he embark'd all his Soldiers well arm'd, in those of a smaller Size, and in the Boats; and was beginning to make the bend of his Way against the Current, in the same Order as had been before observed by *Juan de Grijalva*, when he perceiv'd a considerable Number of Canoes with armed *Indians* which covered both Sides of the River, supported by several other Bodies on the Shore. *Cortes* drew near in close Order, and commanded that none should fire, or shew the least Sign of Hostility. He follow'd in this likewise the Conduct of *Grijalva*; for he was more solicitous to use the proper Means of

of succeeding in his Enterprize, than to avoid the Imputation of copying after another, well knowing what Risques they run, who value themselves upon finding out new Ways, with no other Design than to be distinguish'd from those who went before them. The *Indians* thought to put a Stop to the *Spaniards* by their horrible Outcries : And as soon as they were so near, that what they said could be distinguished, *Jerom de Aguilar* found that he understood their Language, which was the same, or little different from that of *Yucatan*; and *Cortes* look'd upon it as the Work of Providence, that he was furnish'd with so good an Interpreter. *Aguilar* informed him, that the Words he understood were Menaces, and that the *Indians* were inclin'd to War. Upon which *Cortes* stopp'd, and commanded him to advance in one of the Boats with Offers of Peace. *Aguilar* executed his Orders; and returned in a very short Time with an Account, that the *Indians* were in great Numbers prepared to defend the Entrance of the River, and so obstinate in their Resolution, that they had very insolently refused so much as to hear him. *Cortes* had no Design to begin a War in that Country, or delay his Voyage; but finding that he was now engaged, he thought it would be dishonourable to retreat, and of dangerous Consequence to suffer this Insolence of the Barbarians to go unpunished.

THE Night overtaking them in a Country unknown, *Cortes* thought it most adviseable
to

to lie by till Day; and disposing every Thing after the best Manner he could for the Engagement during this Suspension, he commanded all the Artillery out of the great Vessels, and his Soldiers had Orders to arm themselves with their Cotton Coats, for the better resisting of the Arrows; to which he added such other Directions as he judged necessary, without representing the Danger greater or less than it really was. He us'd all possible Precaution to secure the Success of this first Action of his Troops, well knowing of what Importance it is in all Enterprizes to begin well, but especially in War, where a happy Beginning not only gives Reputation to an Army, but raises the Courage of the Soldiers; it being peculiar to the first Action to have a secret, but powerful, Influence on the Success of those that follow.

As soon as the Day appeared, the Vessels were drawn up in a Half-Moon, whose Figure lessen'd by Degrees, till it ended in the Boats, the River being large enough to allow sufficient Room for that Disposition. Their Advance was very slow, and seem'd to invite to Peace: But our Men soon discover'd the Canoes of the *Indians*, who waited their Coming in the same Order, and using the same Threats as the Night before. The General commanded his Men not to stir till they were attack'd; telling them all, *That they ought to use their Shields before they employ'd their Swords, the Justice of this War depending on the Provocation to*
it.

And being desirous to have Reason still more on his Side, he sent *Aguilar* a second time to them with Offers of Peace; and to assure them, That this was a Fleet of their friends, who design'd their Advantage, and came on the Foot of that Alliance which had been formerly made with *Juan de Grijalva*; that to refuse them Entrance would be a Breach of it, and would oblige the *Spaniards* to open their Way by Force of Arms; and that whatever Damage they should sustain, must be imputed to themselves.

THE Answer to this second Proposal, was the giving the Signal for the Attack. They advanc'd by the Favour of the Current near enough to use their Arrows, of which they discharged so great a Number, both from the Canoes and the Banks of the River, that the *Spaniards* were very much imbarass'd in their Endeavours to cover themselves; but having received the first Charge according to Order, they returned it with so much Vigour, that the Canoes quickly left the Passage free, and many of the *Indians*, intimidated by the Deaths of their Companions, flung themselves into the River. Our Vessels pursued their Way up the River, without further Opposition, and approaching the Shore on the Left Side, the Troops began to land; but in a Place so marshy, and covered with Brambles, that they found themselves engaged in a second Conflict; for the *Indians*, who lay there in Ambush, and those who escaped from the Engagement

gement on the River, united in one Body and renewed the Attack with extraordinary Fury; the great Quantity of Arrows, Darts and Stones, which they discharged, increasing the Difficulty of the Morals: But *Hernan Cortes*, without ceasing to fight, drew up his Men; and those Ranks which were formed, making Head against the Enemy, covered the rest of the Troops who were landing.

HAVING formed his Battalion in Sight of the Enemy, whose Numbers continually increas'd, he gave Orders to Captain *Alonso Davila* to advance with an hundred Soldiers thro' the Wood, and possess himself of the Town of *Tabasco*, the Capital of that Province, not far distant from the Place of Action, according to the Accounts of those who had been upon the former Expedition. After which he immediately engaged that vast Multitude, forcing them back with equal Courage and Difficulty; for he was obliged very often to march up to the Knees in Mud: And 'tis said, that in the Heat of the Engagement the General lost one of his Shoes, and fought a great while without missing it; so thoroughly was his Attention employ'd upon the Business of the Day.

AFTER the *Spaniards* had passed the Marsh, the *Indians* gave Way, and disappeared in an Instant among the Bushes. Their Flight was owing in part to their losing the Advantage of Ground, and in part to their Concern for the Town of *Tabasco*, upon their discovering the March

March of *Davila*, as it presently appeared by the great Multitudes that immediately repaired to the Defence of that Place.

THE Town was fortified with a kind of Wall generally used in the *Indies*, made of large Trunks of Trees, fixed in the Ground after the Manner of *Palisades*, and so plac'd together, that there was Room between to discharge their Arrows. The Compass was round, without any Traverses, or other Defences; and at the closing of the Circle, the Extremity of one Line covered the other, and formed a narrow winding Street, in which were two or three little Castles of Wood, which filled up the Passage, and wherein they were used to post their Centinels: A sufficient Fortrefs against the Arms of this new World, where they were happily ignorant of the Arts of War, and of those Methods to attack and defend, in which Mankind have been instructed, either by Malice or Necessity.

C H A P. XVIII.

*The Spaniards gain the Town of Tabasco
Cortes sends out two hundred Men to view
the Country; who are driven back by the
Indians, but shew great Valour both in the
Engagement and Retreat.*

CORTES arrived at the Town a little while before *Alonso Davila*, who had been hinder'd by some Marshes and Lakes in his Way; and having join'd his Troops to the Battalion, and distributed among them proper Instruments for breaking down the Palisades (without giving time either to the *Indians* to recover themselves, or to his own Soldiers to reflect on the Difficulty) gave the Signal to begin the Attack, only stopping to say, "My Friends, here we must lodge this Night." "This is the Retreat of those whom you have already conquered in the Field. This weak Wall, that covers them, serves to make them a little more bold, but does not add to their Security: Let us follow the Victory we have begun, before these Barbarians forget their Custom of flying before us, or our longer Delay give them Time to recover their Courage." As he ended these few words, he drew his Sword; and speaking the rest by his Example, advanc'd before them all, and inspir'd every one with a Desire of distinguishing himself.

THE Soldiers went on together with equal Resolution, and turning aside a Shower of Arrows with their Shields, and even with their Swords, gained the Foot of the Palisade; the Intervals of which were of Service at that Time for the Discharge of the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, which quickly drove the Enemy from their Post, and gave an Opportunity to those who were not engaged to beat down a Part of the Palisades. The *Spaniards* enter'd without Difficulty, because the *Indians* retired to the inner part of the Town; but it was soon perceived that they had stopped up the Streets with other Palisades, where they again made Head, but with small Effect; for they were embarrass'd by their own Numbers; and while some were retiring from one Work to another, they put the rest, who would have fought, into Disorder.

IN the Centre of the Town there was a large Space, where the *Indians* made their utmost Efforts; but after a short Resistance, turn'd their Backs, and fled into the Woods. *Cortes* would not follow the Chace, that he might give his Soldiers Time to refresh, and the Fugitives an Opportunity to sue for Peace, taking Counsel from their Defeat.

THUS did the *Spaniards* gain *Tabasco*, a large Town, and well provided for Defence; for the *Indians* had sent away all their Families and Effects, and stored the Place with Provisions: So that tho' there was nothing found to gratify Avarice, there was nothing wanting which

which Necessity required. Fourteen or fifteen of our Men were wounded, and amongst them our Historian, *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* whom I follow in what he relates of himself since it cannot be denied but that he was valiant Soldier, and the Style of his History shews, that he understood a Sword better than a Pen. In this Engagement died a considerable Number of *Indians*. Of the Wounded there was no Account, because they took Care to carry them off, it being a Point of Honour amongst them to conceal their Loss from the Enemy.

THAT Night the Troops lodged in three Temples, situated in that Part of the Town where they last engaged. *Cortes* went his Rounds, and posted his Centinels with as much Care and Exactness, as if he had had a Veteran Army of Enemies in view, well knowing that a Man can never be too circumspect in War, where nothing is more dangerous than too much Security, and Caution is as necessary as Valour in a Commander.

THE next Day the Country appeared quite deserted, and so far as the Eye could reach, there was not the least Sign of an Enemy, nor was there any Noise to be heard: The neighbouring Woods were search'd, and found to be equally solitary. However, *Cortes* did not think it proper to march out of his Quarters. This great Stillness made him suspicious; and his Apprehensions were increas'd, when he understood that his Interpreter *Melchior*, who came

came from *Cuba*, had deserted that very Night, leaving his Christian Habit hanging on a Tree; whose Informations might be of ill Consequence to him among those Barbarians, as it afterwards appeared: For it was he that induced them to renew the War, acquainting them with the small Number of our Soldiers; that they were not immortal, nor their Fire-Arms Thunder and Lightning, as they imagined; the Dread of which had made them desirous of Peace. But his Crime did not go long unpunished; for the same Barbarians, whom he had persuaded to take up Arms, being vanquished a second Time, reveng'd themselves on the Adviser of the War, by making him a miserable Sacrifice to their Idols.

IN this Uncertainty, *Cortez* resolved to send out *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Francisco de Lugo*, each with an hundred Men, by different Ways to view the Country, with Orders, if they found an Army in the Field, to retire to their Quarters, without engaging with unequal Numbers. This Resolution was immediately executed: And *Francisco de Lugo*, after little more than an Hour's March, fell into an Ambuscade of numberless *Indians*, who attacked him on all Sides; and that with so much Fury, that he was obliged to draw up his little Battalion into a Square, facing every Way. The Number of the Enemies increased, and the *Spaniards* began to be tired, when it pleased God, that *Alvarado*, who had taken a different Road from his Companion, met with

a Marsh, which obliged him to turn aside, and brought him where the Report of the Fire-Arms gave him Notice of the Engagement. *Alvarado* marched strait to the Noise, and discovered the Enemies Squadrons, at a Time when our Men were in the utmost Distress. He advanced with all the Haste possible, under Cover of a Wood, and sending an *Indian* of *Cuba* to *Cortés*, to advise him of the Accident, drew up his Men, and fell upon the Enemy with so much Resolution, that the *Indians*, surprized at the sudden Assault, left them the Passage free, and without giving the *Spaniards* Time to break them, dispers'd of themselves.

THIS Succour gave *Francisco de Lugo's* Soldiers Time to breathe; and as soon as the two Captains had joined their Troops, and doubled their Ranks, they charged another Battalion of the Enemy, who stopp'd up the Way to their Quarters, that they might execute the Orders they had received to retreat.

HERE again they found Resistance; but, in fine, they made Way through them with their Swords, marching forward, tho' continually attack'd, and sometimes almost borne down; some fought while others took Breath; and whensoever they mended their pace to gain Ground, they were charged by the whole Body of the Enemy, who immediately, upon their facing about, got out of their Reach, retiring with the same Swiftneſs that they attack'd; the Motions of this great Multitude of Barbarians

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resembling the Rolling of the Sea, when the Waves are driven back by the Wind.

THE *Spaniards* had marched about three Quarters of a League, continually plying their Weapons, when *Hernan Cortes* appeared at a Distance, who, upon the Notice given him by *Alvarado*, was coming to their Relief, with all the rest of the Troops. As soon as the *Indians* spy'd him, they made a Halt, giving those they pursu'd Time to march off, and continued a while looking on, either by way of Threatning, or to signify that they were not afraid; yet afterwards they dispersed in several small Bodies, and left the Field to their Enemies. *Cortes* returned to his Quarters, without engaging farther, because it was requisite to take care of the Wounded, being eleven in both Companies, of which Number two died, and this was reckon'd, at that Time, a very great Loss.

C H A P. XIX.

The Spaniards engage with a powerful Army of the Indians of Tabasco, and the Parts adjacent. A Description of their Manner of fighting, and of the Victory obtain'd by Cortes.

SOME Prisoners were taken upon this Occasion; and *Cortes* order'd *Jerom de Aguilar* to examine them separately, to know what

it was that those *Indians* founded their Obstinacy on, and what Forces they had to support it. Their Answers differ'd in some Circumstances; but they agreed in declaring, That all the Caziques of the neighbouring Countries were summon'd to the Assistance of those of *Tabasco*; and that the next Day a very powerful Army was to be drawn together to make an End of the *Spaniards* at once; of which Number the Body that had attack'd the two Companies under *Francisco de Lugo*, and *Pedro de Alvarado*, was but a small Detachment. This Intelligence gave *Cortes* some Uneasiness; whereupon he resolved to call his Captains together, and advise with them what was proper to be done. He laid before them *the Difficulties in which they were engaged, their small Numbers, and the great Preparations the Indians had made to destroy them*, without concealing the least Circumstance of what the Prisoners had declar'd. He then proceeded to consider *how far their Glory was concern'd*, representing to them *their own Valour, the Nakedness and Weakness of their Enemies, and how easily they had defeated them at Tabasco, at their Landing*; but above all he urged *the ill Consequences of turning their Backs upon the Threats of those Barbarians, the Report of whose Boasts might spread as far as the Country they were going to, which would be a Disgrace of so much Consequence, that, in his Opinion, they must either intirely lay aside the Enterprize of New Spain, or*
proceed

proceed no farther till they had either established Peace, or subdu'd that Province; but that he only proposed this as his Opinion, being resolved to act as should be judged the most convenient.

THEY very well knew, that this Deference of their General was no Affectation; for he always valu'd himself upon being fond of Advice, and submitting to that Opinion which was best, this being one of his most peculiar Qualities, and a sufficient Proof of his Prudence: For a superior Understanding is less discover'd by forming a good Argument, than by owning the Force of another's. In this Confidence every one gave his Opinion; and they all agreed, that it was not then practicable to depart that Country, till they had either reduced or chastised the Inhabitants. Whereupon *Cortes* proceeded to make the necessary Dispositions for that Enterprize. He ordered the wounded Men to be carried on Board, the Horses to be landed, the Artillery to be in a Readiness, and every Thing in Order by the next Morning, which was the Feast of the *Annunciation of our Lady*, memorable to this Day in that Country, on Account of the Success of that Battle.

As soon as it was Day, he contrived that all the Men should hear Mass; and giving the Command of the Foot to *Diego de Ordaz*, he and the other Commanders mounted on Horseback, and kept pace with the Artillery, which moved with much Difficulty, because

the Ground was boggy and uneven. They drew near to the Place, where, according to the Information of the Prisoners, the Enemy's Forces were to rendezvous, but found no one of whom they could get the least Account, till coming to a Place called *Cintbla*, little less than a League from their Quarters, they discover'd at a great Distance the *Indian* Army, so numerous, and extending so far, that the Eye could not reach to see the End of them.

WE will now describe the *Indian* Manner of Marching, and Engaging, which may serve upon all Occasions in this Conquest, the Art of War being almost the same among all the Nations in *New Spain*. Most of their Weapons were Bows and Arrows: The Bow-Strings were made of the Sinews of Beasts, or of Thongs of Deer-Skin twisted; and their Arrows, for Want of Iron, were headed with Bones ground sharp, or Fish-Bones. They used also a kind of Darts, which sometimes they threw, and at others they managed like a Pike, as Occasion required. They had likewise long Swords, which they used with both Hands, as we do our Scimitars or Faulchions, made of Wood, in which they fixed sharp Flints. The strongest of them had Clubs, pointed with Flints. And there were Slingers, who threw Stones with great Force and Skill. The defensive Arms, which were only used by Commanders and Persons of Distinction, were Coats of quilted Cotton, ill-fitted Breast-Plates, and Shields of Wood or Tortoise-Shell, adorned with

with Plates of such Metal as they could get; and some made use of Gold as we do of Iron. The rest were naked; and all of them deformed with various Dies and Colours with which they painted their Faces and Bodies; a Martial Sort of Ornament, which they made use of to strike a Terror into their Enemies, believing that Ugliness made them appear dreadful; as *Tacitus* relates of the *Arii*, a People in *Germany*, and remarks that an Impression on the Eye is the first Step to Victory. Their Heads were covered with divers Plumes of Feathers, like Crowns, raised high to make them appear taller. They had also warlike Instruments, and Musick, with which they animated their Soldiers, and gave Signals; as Flutes made of great Canes; Sea-Shells; and a Sort of Drums, made of the Trunk of a Tree, so hollowed, and made thin, that they answered to the Stroke of the Stick a very displeasing Sound, but seemed well suited to the Ears of those People.

THEY formed their Battalions of great Numbers, without any Order; but had Troops of Reserve to relieve where there was Occasion. They made their Attacks with great Fury, and terrible Outcries, with which they thought to intimidate their Enemies; a Custom which some have accounted among the Brutalities of those *Indians*, without observing that it has been used by many antient Nations, and not despised even by the *Romans*: For *Cæsar* in his *Commentaries* commends the Cries of his

own Soldiers, and blames the Silence of those of *Pompey*; and *Cato* the Elder was wont to say, that he had obtained more Victories by the Cries of the Soldiers, than by their Swords, both of them being of Opinion, that the Cries of the Soldiers proceeded from the Courage that was in the Heart. We do not argue whether this is a commendable Custom, or not, but only say, it was not so barbarous in the *Indians*, as to be without Example in other Nations. Their Armies were compos'd of Natives, and several Troops of Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Provinces, who came to the Assistance of their Confederates, being led by their Caziques, or some Prime *Indian* of their Family. They were divided into Companies whose Captains led, but could scarce govern their Men; for, when they came to engage, they were directed either by Fear or Rage, as is usual among such Multitudes, being equally eager to attack, and to run away.

SUCH was the Soldiery of the *Indians*; and after this Manner that Army, or rather Inundation of Men, which seem'd to cover all the Country, advanc'd towards the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* was sensible of the Danger he was in, yet did not despair of the Success, but encourag'd his Soldiers with a chearful Countenance; and posting them under the Shelter of a rising Ground, which cover'd their Rear, and placing the Artillery where it could do most Execution, he struck into a Wood with his fifteen Horse, advancing far into it, in order to

to sally out, and flank them, as Occasion should require. As soon as the *Indian* Army came up within a proper Distance, they first shot their Arrows, and then fell upon the *Spaniards* with so much Fury and Precipitation, that the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows not being able to stop them, they were obliged to make use of their Swords. Great was the Slaughter made among them; and as they press'd on in Throngs, the Artillery destroy'd whole Companies; but they were so obstinate, that as soon as the Ball was pass'd they closed again, and cover'd the Loss they had sustain'd, making loud Cries, and throwing Handfuls of Dust into the Air, that the *Spaniards* might not see those who fell, or hear their Lamentations.

DIEGO DE ORDAZ repaired to all Parts, acquitting himself both as a good Captain and a valiant Soldier: But the Enemies being so very numerous, the *Spaniards* had enough to do to stand their Ground; and the Inequality of their Strength began to appear, when *Cartes*, who could not come sooner to the Assistance of his Men, by reason of some Brooks he had to pass, sally'd forth from the Wood, and fell upon all that Army, breaking through the thickest of their Battalions, and doing such Execution with his Horse, that the *Indians*, wounded, and trodden under Foot, thought of nothing but getting from them, throwing away their Arms, as an Obstacle to the Swift-ness of their Flight.

DIEGO

DIEGO DE ORDAZ was sensible that the Relief he had expected was come, by the weak Resistance of the Enemies Van-Guard, which began to face about by Reason of the Confusion in the Rear; whereupon, without Loss of Time, he advanced with his Foot, charging those who oppress'd him with so much Resolution, that he obliged them to give way gaining the Ground as they lost it, till he came to the Place which *Cortes* and his Captains had clear'd of the Enemy. They joined to make the last Effort, and were forced to mend their Pace; for the *Indians* were retreating in an hasty Manner, yet still making Head, and employing their missive Weapons; and this Manner of making off and withdrawing from the Fight in good Order they continued till the *Spaniards* came up to them, when finding themselves again attack'd, they turn'd their Backs, and instead of retreating fled outright.

CORTES commanded his Men to halt, to avoid the shedding of more Blood, ordering only some Prisoners to be taken, whom he might make use of to set on foot a Treaty of Peace, which he chiefly had in View, looking on this War as no more than a Circumstance of his principal Design. Above eight hundred *Indians* remained dead upon the Spot, and the Number of the Wounded was very great. Of the *Spaniards*, two Soldiers were killed, and Threescore and ten wounded.

THE Enemies Army, according to the Accounts we have, consisted of forty thousand men; who, altho' they were naked Barbarians, (as some foreign Writers have observed) yet had Hands to do Mischief: And should we want that they wanted Courage, which is proper to Men, yet they could not be destitute of Fierceness, of which brute Beasts are capable.

THE Action of *Tabasco*, in spite of Envy, was truly worthy of the Honour afterwards done it, by building a Church in Commemoration of the Day on which the Battle was fought, dedicated to our Lady of Victory, and giving the same Name to the first Town which the *Spaniards* built in that Province. The greatest Share of the happy Success must be ascrib'd to the Valour of the Soldiers, who by their Courage and Resolution, supply'd their want of Numbers, tho' they had the Advantage of engaging in good Order, against an Army without any Manner of Discipline. Cortes opened the Way to the Victory, by breaking through the main Body of the *Indians* with his Horse: An Action, in which he shewed no less Conduct than Valour. Nor can it be denied but that the Horses had their Part in this Action, the Strangeness of them terrifying the *Indians*; for they had never seen any before, and imagin'd them to be fierce Monsters, half Man and half Beast, as the antient Heathens, who were less excusable in that Particular, fancy'd of the *Centaurs*.

Some

Some Authors relate, that St. *James* the Apostle fought for the *Spaniards* in this Battle on a white Horse; and add, that *Cortes*, out of his particular Devotion, attributed this Relief to St. *Peter*. But *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who was present, utterly denies the Miracle; and declares, that neither he, nor any of his Companions either saw or heard of any such Thing. It is an Excess of pious Zeal to ascribe those Things to Heaven which succeed contrary to all Appearances, or Hope. I confess myself little inclin'd to this; but, in case of any extraordinary Accident, am willing to leave the immediate Operation to natural Causes: But it is certain, that those who read the History of the *West Indies*, will meet with many Truths that look like Hyperboles, and many Events, which it was necessary to make miraculous, that they might appear credible.

C H A P. XX.

The Spaniards make Peace with the Cazique of Tabasco, and celebrate the Festival of Palm-Sunday. After which they reembark, and continue their Voyage.

THE next Day *Cortes* caused the Prisoners to be brought before him, among whom were two or three Officers. They discovered in their Countenances very great Fear, expecting to be treated after the same cruel

Manner

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manner they used to treat the Vanquish'd. But *Cortes* receiv'd them with great Courtesy ; and encouraging them with a chearful Countenance, and with Embraces, set them at Liberty, giving them some trifling Presents; and telling them at the same time, That *he knew* *both how to Conquer, and Forgive.* This piece of Humanity had so good an Effect, that within a few Hours several *Indians* came to the Quarters loaden with *Indian* Wheat, Fowl, and other Provisions, designing by that Present to facilitate the Peace which they were to propose from the principal Cazique of *Tabasco.* The People who came on this Embassy, were of the meanest Sort, and made no Figure ; which *Jerom de Aguilar* took Notice of, because it was the Custom of this Country, upon all such Occasions, to send Persons of the first Rank, adorned with all their Finery. And altho' *Cortes* was very desirous of Peace, he refused to admit their Proposals, as not coming in due Form ; and sent back the *Indians*, without so much as seeing them ; bidding them, by his Interpreter, acquaint their Cazique, *That if he desired his Friendship, he must send Persons of greater Account, and after a more decent Manner, to solicit it.* *Cortes* was of Opinion, that these Formalities, which support Authority, were not to be dispensed with, nor any Failings of Respect suffer'd in those who came as Suppliants ; for in such sort of Affairs, the Manner of Acting is almost of as much Importance as the Thing itself.

THE

THE Cazique acknowledg'd his Fault; and to make amends, the next Day sent thirty *Indians* of better Quality, with their Ornaments of Plumes and Jewels, wherein all their Pride consisted. They were followed by a Train of *Indians*, loaded with another Present of the same Kind as before, but in greater Abundance. *Cortes* gave them Audience, attended by all his Captains, affecting a grave and severe Countenance, because he thought it proper upon this Occasion to lay aside his natural Affability. They approached with very great Submission, and having perfum'd him with their Fire-Pans in which they burnt Gum-Anime, Gum-Copal, and other sweet Scents, (an usual Ceremony when they would express the greatest Veneration) they delivered their Embassy; which began with some frivolous Excuses for their past War, and concluded in earnest Intreaties for Peace. The General represented to them, after a very serious Manner, the just Cause he had to be displeas'd with them; to the end that on a View of their Faults, the Pardon might appear with greater Lustre, and the Peace which he granted them prove the more welcome. The Ambassadors received it with great Applause, returning extremely satisfied, and easily enriched with those slight Baubles they so highly valu'd.

AFTERWARDS the Cazique himself came to visit *Cortes*, accompany'd by all his Officers and Relations, bringing with him a Present of Cotton Cloths, Plumes of various Colours, and

and some Pieces of low Gold, more valuable for the Workmanship than for the Metal. He first made his Present, in order to be better received. *Cortes* caress'd him very much; and all the Visit pass'd in Compliments, and Protestations of a reciprocal and sincere Friendship, all transacted by the Interpreter. The *Spanish* Captains treated the other Prime *Indians*, who accompany'd the Cazique, after the same Manner; and nothing appeared but Signs of Joy and Peace, which they explained by their Countenances and Embraces, to supply the Want of Language. The Cazique took his Leave, appointing another Day for an Interview; and to shew his Sincerity, and how much he confided in the General, he immediately ordered his Subjects to return with their Families to *Tabasco*, and assist the *Spaniards* in whatsoever they should want.

THE next Day he came again to the Quarters, with the same Attendance, and twenty *Indian* Women, well dress'd, after the Manner of the Country; telling *Cortes* he brought them as a Present, to serve him and his Companions, as being very skilful in dressing all Sorts of Meat, and in making Bread of *Indian* Wheat, which amongst them was always the Work of Women.

THEY ground the Grain between two Stones, like those we use for Chocolate; and when reduced to Flour, they made it into Paste, without having any Occasion for Leaven. Then they spread and moulded it upon a sort of earthen

earthen Plates, which they put over the Fire and baked it; this being the Bread with which God has abundantly supplied that new World to make Amends for the Want of Wheat and is very agreeable to the Taste, and not offensive to the Stomach. Among these Women came one principal *Indian*, well made, and of more than ordinary Beauty, who was afterwards baptized, and received the Name of *Marina*, and proved very necessary in the Conquest, as will appear in its proper Place.

CORTES went aside with the *Cazique*, and the Chief of those that followed him; and by means of his Interpreter informed them, *That he was the Subject and Officer of a very powerful Monarch; and that his Intention was to make them happy, by bringing them under the Obedience of his Prince; to convert them to the true Religion, and destroy the Errors of their Idolatry.* He enforced these Proposals with his natural Eloquence, and so much Authority, that the *Indians* were persuaded, or at least inclined to Reason. The Answer they gave was, *That they should think themselves very happy in obeying a Monarch, whose Power and Greatness appear'd with such Advantage in the Valour of his Subjects.* But as to the Point of Religion, they were more reserved.

THE Defeat of their Army by such a Handful of *Spaniards*, made them doubt whether they were not assisted by some Deity superior to their own. But though they could not resolve

to confess it; their admitting the Doubt was
 a small Step towards the Truth.

THE Pilots press'd the Departure of the Fleet,
 which, according to their Observations, might
 be endanger'd by any longer Stay in that Place.
 And though *Cortes* was concerned to leave
 those People, before he had better instructed
 them on the Subject of Religion, he found
 himself obliged to think of his Voyage; and
Palm-Sunday drawing near, he appointed that
 Day for embarking, so ordering it, that the
 Festival might be kept first, according to the
 Rites of the Church, Religion being always
 his first Care. To which End he raised an
 Altar in the Fields, which he covered with
 Boughs, in Form of a Chapel: A rustick, but
 decent Structure, and which was the second
 Church of *New Spain*. At the same Time
 they embarked their Provisions, and made all
 other necessary Preparations for their Voyage.
 The *Indians* assisted in all Things with an
 officious Diligence; and the *Cazique*, with
 his Captains, attended *Cortes* with the greatest
 Respect and Veneration. Father *Bartolome de*
Olmedo, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, made
 use of this Opportunity to endeavour to bring
 them into the Way of Truth, pursuing what
Cortes had so well begun, and taking Advan-
 tage of the good Inclinations they shewed in
 their Answers: But they only comply'd as
 Men that were subdu'd, being more inclin'd
 to receive another God, than to part with any
 of their own. They hearken'd with Pleasure,

and seem'd desirous to comprehend what they heard: But Reason was no sooner admitted by the Will, than it was rejected by the Understanding. The most that the two Priests could effect at that Time, was to leave them in a good Disposition, and to perceive that it required more Time to prepare their rude and uncultivated Minds, to become sensible of their Blindness.

ON *Sunday* Morning there came an infinite Number of *Indians*, from the neighbouring Parts, to see this Festival of the Christians; and the Boughs, being blest with the usual Solemnity, were distributed among the Soldiers, who all marched in Procession with equal Modesty and Devotion: A Sight worthy of better Spectators; and which appeared with the more Lustre among those Infidels, as Light from the Opposition of Darkness. However, it had some little Effect upon those Heathens; for, as *Aguilar* afterwards declar'd, they cry'd out, *This must needs be a great God, to whom such valiant Men shew so much Respect.* They hit upon the Truth, but mistook in their Way of Reasoning.

WHEN Mass was done, *Cortes* took Leave of the Cazique, and the principal *Indians*; and having confirm'd the Peace with further Demonstrations of Friendship, he embarked, leaving those People rather obedient, than subject to the King; and as to Religion, so far in the Way to Salvation, as to desire, or, at least, not to oppose the Means of obtaining it.

C H A P. XXI.

Cortes proceeds on his Voyage. The Fleet arrives at St. Juan de Ulua. The Soldiers land. The General receives an Embassy from Motezuma's Governors. An Account who Donna Marina was.

THE Monday after *Palm-Sunday* the Spaniards set Sail, and following the Coast to the Westward, came within Sight of the Province of *Guazacoalco*; and, without putting in at *Rio de Banderas*, or the River of Banners, had a View of the Island of *Sacrifices*, and other Places, which had before been discovered and forsaken by *Juan de Grijalva*; the Soldiers who had served under him, telling their Comrades what Adventures they had met with in that Expedition; and *Cortes* learning from the ill Success of that Enterprize, how to manage his own better. At length they arriv'd at *St. Juan de Ulua* on *Maundy-Thursday* at Noon; and the Ships had no sooner anchored between the Island and the main Land, to shelter themselves from the North Winds, than they saw two large Canoes, which in that Country are called *Piraguas*, coming from the neighbouring Coast, with some *Indians* in them; who drew near, without shewing the least Concern at the Fleet, discovering by this Security, and

some Signs they made, that they came in a peaceable Manner, and desired to be heard.

WHEN they were within a small Distance of the Admiral, they began to speak in a strange Language, that *Aguilar* did not understand; which much troubled *Cortes*, being concern'd to want an Interpreter when he had most Occasion for him, looking upon it as a great Obstacle to his Undertaking: But Providence, that brings about its Designs, by Ways that to Men appear casual, soon relieved him in this Distress. The *Indian Woman*, whom we shall now call *Donna Marina*, was not far from *Cortes* and *Aguilar*, and guessing by their Looks what they were discoursing, and what they wanted, she told *Aguilar* in the *Yucatan* Tongue, that those *Indians* spoke the *Mexican* Language, and desired Audience of the General on the Part of the Governor of that Province. *Cortes* order'd them to come aboard; and laying aside the Uneasiness he had been under, gave Thanks to God, acknowledging it was owing to his infinite Goodness, that, contrary to all his Hopes, he had found an Instrument whereby to make himself understood in a Country which he had so earnestly desired to see.

DONNA MARINA, according to the Report of *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, was Daughter to the Cazique of *Guazacoalco*, one of the Provinces subject to the Emperor of *Mexico*, bordering upon that of *Tabasco*, and had, through some Accidents of Life, which are variously

variously reported, been carry'd away in her Youth to *Xicalango*, a strong Place upon the Confines of *Tucatan*, which was kept by a *Mexican* Garison. There she was bred in a poor Manner, no way agreeable to her Birth, till by a fresh Misfortune, either by Sale, or being taken in War, she became a Slave to the Caziue of *Tabasco*, who made a Present of her to *Cortes*. In *Guazacoalco*, and in *Xicalango*, they spoke the general *Mexican* Language, and in *Tabasco* that of *Tucatan*, which *Aguilar* understood: So that *Donna Marina* understood both those Languages, and explained to the *Indians* in the *Mexican*, what *Aguilar* told her in that of *Tucatan*; *Cortes* making use of this round-about Way of Speaking by two Interpreters, till such time as *Donna Marina* had learn'd *Spanish*, which was not long; for she had a very ready Wit, and several natural Endowments, which well agreed with the Nobility of her Birth. *Antonio de Herrera* says she was a Native of *Xalisco*, and that she was brought to *Tabasco* from a very distant Country; for *Xalisco* is on the other Sea, in the very furthest Part of *New Galicia*. Perhaps he took this Notion from *Francisco Lopez de Gomara*; but we cannot apprehend, why in this, and other more important Matters, he does not follow the Account of *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, whose Manuscript he had at hand; for he follows and quotes him in many Parts of his History. *Donna Marina* was ever a most

faithful Interpreter to *Cortes*; and he confirmed her in his Interest by Ways not altogether so decent; for he had a Son by her, called *Don Martin Cortes*, who was made a Knight of *St. Jago*, in Consideration of the Nobility of his Mother's Birth. This was no justifiable Method to secure her Fidelity; but some will have it to have been good Policy. However, we are more apt to believe it was the ill Effect of an ungoverned Passion, notwithstanding the World is accustomed to give the specious Title of Reason of State, to that which is in Reality no other than human Weakness.

The *Indians* being admitted to the Presence of the General, acquainted him, That *Pilpatoe* and *Teutile*, the one Governor, and the other Captain-General of that Province, for the great Emperor *Motexuma*, had sent them to know of the Commander of that Fleet, with what Intention he was come upon their Coast; and to offer him what Succour and Assistance he should stand in need of, in order to continue his Voyage. *Cortes* caress'd them, gave them a few Baubles, and treated them with some *Spanish* Diet and Wine; and having thus obliged them, answer'd, " That he came as a Friend to treat
 " concerning Matters of great Importance to
 " their Prince, and all his Empire; for which
 " Purpose he would meet the two Governors,
 " and hoped to receive the same good Treatment from them, as others of his Nation

" had

had done the Year before." And having receiv'd some Information concerning the Greatness of *Motexuma*, his Riches, and Form of Government, he sent them away very well contented.

The next Day in the Morning, being *Good-Friday*, the *Spaniards* all landed on the Shore nearest the Fleet: And *Cortes* gave Orders for landing the Horses and Artillery; and that the Soldiers, in Companies, should go and cut fascines to entrench themselves, not forgetting to post the necessary Guards at the Avenues, and to build a sufficient Number of Barracks to shelter them from the Heat of the Sun, which at that Time was very great. The Artillery was planted so as to command the Country, and in a little Time they were all under Cover; for *Teutile* sent a great Number of *Indians* with Provisions, and Orders to assist the *Spaniards* in that Work: To whom they were of great Use, because they brought their Tools edg'd with sharp Flints, with which they cut Stakes, and fixing them in the Ground, interwove with them the Boughs and Leaves of Palm-Trees, forming the Walls and Roofs of a Lodging with much Ease and Diligence, being great Masters in this Kind of Architecture, as having in many Places no other Houses, and being less barbarous in proportioning their Structures to what Nature requires, than those who build vast Palaces, where still they cannot find sufficient Room for their Vanity. They also

brought some Cotton Cloths, with which they covered the Officers Barracks, the better to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the best of them *Cortes* ordered an Altar to be set up, on which, when adorn'd, he placed the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, and at the Entrance a great Cross, in order to celebrate *Easter*: For Religion was always his principal Care, and in that he was equally zealous with the Priests. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* assures us, that Mass was said on that Altar the same Day they landed; but we do not believe that Father *Barrolome de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, could be so ill instructed, and so ignorant of the Offices of the Church, as not to know that Mass could not be said on *Good-Friday*. He very often depends too much upon his Memory: But what is most to be wondered at, is, that *Antonio de Herrera* should follow him, and almost copy him in this Mistake, into which I suppose both to have fallen through Inadvertency; and I do not take Notice of it so much with a Design to censure them, as to make it a Lesson to myself to avoid the like Negligences.

CORTES understood by these *Indians*, that General *Teutile* was attended by a considerable Body of Troops, and that he was establishing the Dominion of *Motezuma* in some Places newly conquer'd of this Province, the Civil Government of which was vested in *Pilpatoe*. And the great Care they took to send Provisions, and help the *Spaniards* in building

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building of their Barracks, was not without Artifice, so far as could be gathered; for they were very much terrified with the Account of the Success at *Tabasco*, which had now spread over all the Country; and considering that the forces with which they were provided were inferior in Strength to those that had been vanquish'd, they had Recourse to Presents and Civilities, in order to oblige where they could not resist: A Contrivance of Fear, which often makes those generous who dare not declare themselves Enemies,

BOOK II.

The END of the FIRST BOOK.

The General of Mexico's Troops, and the Governor of the Province, came to visit Cortes on the Bay of Mexico, in Account of what passed between them, and of the Successes of the Spanish Forces.

The following day, Cortes, with his Troops, went to visit the Governor, and the General, and they were very much pleased with the Success of the Spanish Forces.

THE

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THE
HISTORY
OF the CONQUEST of
MEXICO, or NEW SPAIN.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Teutile General of Motezuma's Troops, and Pilpatoe Governor of the Province, come to visit Cortes on the Part of Motezuma. An Account of what passed between them, and of the Painters who drew the Pictures of the Spanish Forces.

THE Spaniards passed this Night, and the following Day, in great Tranquillity, but not the less upon their Guard; and the *Indians* were continually coming to their Quarters, some to work, and others with Provisions, which they truck'd for Baubles. Nothing extraordinary happened till *Easter-Day* in the Morning, when *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* came

came with a very great Attendance to visit Cortes. He received them in equal State, surrounded by his Officers and Soldiers; for he thought it proper to make a Shew of Authority, when he was to treat with the Ministers of a great Prince. The first Compliments being over, in which the *Mexicans* exceeded, and Cortes endeavour'd to temper his Gravity with Courtesy, he carried them with him to the great Barrack, which served for a Chapel, it being the Hour of divine Service; ordering Aguilar and *Donna Marina* to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the Intention of his Journey, he was to comply with the Duties of his Religion, and recommend to the God of all other Gods the good Success of his Proposition.

IMMEDIATELY Mass was celebrated with all possible Solemnity. Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* officiated, assisted by the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, *Ferom de Aguilar*, and some Soldiers, who understood how to sing the Service of the Church; the *Indians* looking on all the while with a kind of Astonishment, which tho' the Effect of Novelty, had the Air of Devotion. After Service was over, they returned to the General's Barrack, who entertained the two Governors at Dinner, and treated them with great Plenty and Ostentation.

THE Banquet being over, *Hernan Cortes* called his Interpreters, and, with a determin'd Air, said, *That his coming thither was to treat with the Emperor Motezuma on the*
Part

Part of Don Carlos of Austria, Monarch of the East, touching Affairs of great Importance, not only to his own Person and Estate but likewise to the Welfare of all his Subjects; for performing whereof, it was necessary for him to appear before his Royal Presence, and hoped he should be admitted with all the Civility and Respect that was due to the Greatness of the King who sent him.

BOTH the Governors chang'd Countenance at this Proposal, and seem'd to hear it with great Dissatisfaction: But before they returned an Answer, *Teutile* ordered a Present he had provided to be brought into the Barrack; and about twenty or thirty *Indians* came in loaded with Provisions, fine Cloths, Feathers of several Colours, and a great Box, in which were divers Pieces of Gold, curiously wrought. Having made his Present with a good Grace and Civility, and finding it was well received and praised, he turned to *Cortes*, and by the Help of the same Interpreters, *prayed him to accept that small Present from two Slaves of Motezuma's, who had Orders to entertain such Strangers as should come upon his Coasts;* but adding, *that he must immediately think of prosecuting his Voyage, it being no easy Matter to speak with their Prince; and that they thought they did him no small Service in thus undeceiving him, before Experience made him sensible of the Difficulty of his Pretension.*

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CORTES replied, with some Heat, *That Kings never refused to hear the Embassies of other Princes; neither could their Ministers, without very positive Orders, take upon themselves so bold a Resolution as to oppose it: That what belonged to them to do in this Case, was to acquaint Motezuma with his Arrival, for which he would allow some Time; but that they should likewise let their Emperor know, that he came fully resolved to see him, and positively determined not to leave his Country, with Dishonour to the King whose Representative he was.* This bold Resolution of Cortes gave the Indians so much Uneasiness, that they durst not reply; on the contrary, they earnestly entreated him not to move from those Quarters till the Return of *Motezuma's* Answer, offering to supply him with all Things that were necessary for the Support of his Soldiers.

At this Time some *Mexican* Painters, who came in the Train of the two Governors, were very busy about drawing upon Cotton Cloths, (which they brought ready prim'd for that Purpose) the Ships, Soldiers, Arms, Artillery, Horses, and every Thing else that appeared to them remarkable; of which Variety of Objects they formed different Landskips, no way contemptible, either for the Drawing or the Colours.

OUR *Bernal Diaz* enlarges too much upon the Skill of these Painters; for he saith they drew all the Captains, and that the Pieces
very

very much resembled them : But let that pass as an Hyperbole less resembling the Truth for supposing them to have understood the Art of Painting, they had too little Leisure to observe the Nicety and Tediouſness that Imitation requires.

THESE Pictures were drawn by the Order of *Teutile*, the better to inform *Motexum* of that extraordinary Novelty ; and to make their Descriptions more intelligible, they placed some Characters here and there, with which they seemed to explain, and give the Signification of the Picture. This was their Manner of Writing ; for they had not attained the Use of Letters, nor were they acquainted with those Signs or Elements, invented by other Nations, to represent Syllables, and make Words visible ; but they explained themselves by their Pencils, marking down material Things with their own proper Images, and the rest with Numbers and significant Signs, disposed after such a Manner, that the Number, Sign, and Figure formed the Idea, and fully explained the Meaning ; an excellent Invention, (which shewed their Capacity) like the Hieroglyphicks of the *Egyptians*, who boasted of their Wit in that which was common among the *Indians*, and which the *Mexicans* practised with such Dexterity, that they had whole Books of this Kind of Characters, and legible Pictures, in which they preserved the Remembrance of their Antiquities,

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quities, and left to Posterity the Annals of their Kings.

CORTES had Notice of what these Painters were doing, and went out to see them, not without admiring their Skill; and being informed that they were painting upon those Cloths the Information which *Teutile* was to give *Motexuma* of what he had propos'd, and the Forces he had with him to make it good, he, with his usual sprightly Wit, presently observed that those dumb Images wanted Action and Motion to express the Valour of his Soldiers, and therefore resolved to exercise his Men before them, to give the greater Life and Vigour to the Picture. To this End he ordered them to their Arms; drew up all his Men in a Body; caused the Artillery to be made ready; and telling *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* that he would entertain them after the Manner of his Country, he mounted his Horse, with his Captains. They first ran two and two after the Manner in *Spain*, and then the whole Troop being divided into two Bodies, they skirmish'd in a martial Manner; at which strange Sight the *Indians* stood amaz'd, and like Men beside themselves: For observing the obedient Fierceness of those Beasts, they began to think there was something more than natural in those Men that managed them. Immediately, at a Signal made by *Cortes* the Fire-Arms discharged, and soon after the Artillery: The Confusion and Astonishment of those People increasing (as the Noise was repeated

peated and augmented) with such various Effects, that some fell down upon the Ground, others began to fly, and those who had most Presence of Mind affected Admiration, to dissemble their Fear.

HERNAN CORTES encouraged them, giving them to understand, that among the *Spaniards* these were military Diversions, as one who design'd to make his Arms appear the more formidable, by the Terror of such friendly Entertainments. It was presently perceived, that the Painters were inventing new Figures and Characters, to supply what was wanting on their Cloths. Some painted the *Spaniards* armed, and drawn up in Form; others the Horses in their Exercise and Motion. They describ'd the Artillery with Fire and Smoke, and represented the very Noise with the Similitude of Lightning, without omitting any one of those frightful Circumstances, that most directly regarded what their King was solicitous to know.

IN the mean time *Cortes* returned to his Barrack, with the two Governors; and after having presented them with some small *Spanish* Jewels, he prepared a Present of sundry Sorts of Curiosities to be sent from him to *Motezuma*; to which purpose he made Choice of several neat Pieces of the most solid and brightest Glass; to which he added a Holland Shirt, a Cap of Crimson Velvet, adorned with a Gold Medal representing *St. George*, and a Tapestry Chair, which the *Indians* seem'd so much

much to admire, that it was thought a fit Present for the Emperor. With this small Shew of Liberality, which, among those People, look'd like Magnificence, did *Hernan Cortes* soften the Disagreeableness of his Resolution, and took Leave of the two Governors, who remained as much oblig'd by his Civilities, as embarrass'd by his Designs.

CHAP. II.

Moteczuma returns his Answer, with a Present of great Value; but refuses to grant the Leave desired, to go to Mexico.

THE *Indians* halted at a small Distance from the *Spanish* Quarters, to consult as it was afterwards judg'd) what Measures they should take: For the Result of this Stop was, That *Pilpatoe* remained there to observe the Actions of the *Spaniards*; for which Purpose, a convenient Spot of Ground being fix'd upon, a great Number of Barracks were rais'd, and in a few Hours there appeared a considerable Village built upon the Plain. *Pilpatoe* immediately provided against the Suspicion this Novelty might produce, sending Word to *Cortes*, that he stay'd in that Place to take Care of his Entertainment, and the better to supply his Troops with Provisions. And tho' the Artifice of the Message was known, and that his Intentions were to keep within View of the Army, and watch their Motions, yet *Cortes*

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connived at the Dissimulation, because he drew Advantage from it: for the *Indians* supplied him with all Necessaries; and the Fear of having their Design suspected, made them more punctual and careful.

TEUTILE proceeded to his own Quarters and dispatched an Account to *Motazuma* of all that had happen'd upon the Coast, sending the Pictures which were drawn by his Orders, and *Cortes's* Present, with the utmost Diligence. For this Purpose, the Kings of *Mexico* had a great Number of Couriers distributed along all the principal Roads of the Kingdom, chosen out of the swiftest *Indians*, and bred up to it carefully from little Children. Rewards were allotted out of the publick Treasury to those who arriv'd first at the appointed Place: And Father *Joseph de Acosta* (a faithful Observer of the Customs of that Nation) says, That the chief School where these *Indian* Runners were bred, was the principal Temple of *Mexico*, where the Idol stood on the Top of an hundred and twenty Stone Steps, and those who first arriv'd at its Feet, gain'd the Reward: A notable Exercise to be taught in a Temple; and perhaps the least Indecency us'd in that miserable Place of Worship. These Couriers were relieved at every Town, like our Post-Horses; and made the greater Speed, because they succeeded one another, before they were tired; so that the first Force of the Career never ceased.

IN the *General History*, we find it reported, that *Teutile* himself carry'd his Dispatches and Letters, and that he returned in seven Days with the Answer; wonderful Expedition for General! This does not seem probable, the Distance being Sixty Leagues, the shortest way, from *Mexico* to *St. Juan de Ulua*: Nor can easily be believed, that the *Mexican* Ambassador, whom our *Bernal Diaz* calls *Quinilbor*, came upon this Affair, or the hundred noble *Indians*, whom the Rector of *Vilhermosa* gives him for his Attendants: But this is of no great Importance. The Answer came in seven Days (a Number which all agree in); and *Teutile* brought it to the Spanish Quarters. He brought with him a Present from *Motezuma*, which loaded the Shoulders of an hundred *Indians*; and before he delivered his Embassy, he caused them to lay Mats made of Palm-Tree Leaves, (which they call *Petates*) upon the Ground, and place in Order upon them, as it were on a Buffet, the several Things of which the Present was composed.

THERE were various Sorts of Cotton Robes, well wove, and so fine, that they could not be known from Silk, but by feeling; a Quantity of Plumes, and other Curiosities made of Feathers, whose beautiful and natural Variety of Colours (found on rare Birds, which that Country produces) the *Indian* Artists knew to mix and dispose with so much Skill, that without making use of artificial Colours,

or of the Pencil, they could draw Pictures and would undertake to imitate Nature. The next produced a great Number of Arms, Bows, Arrows, and Targets, made of extraordinary Woods: Two very large Plates, of a circular Form, the one of Gold, which by its embossing represented the Sun; and the other of Silver, representing the Moon: And lastly, a considerable Quantity of Jewels, Pieces of Gold, some precious Stones, Collars of Gold Rings, Pendants, after their Fashion, and other Ornaments of greater Weight, in the Shape of Birds and Beasts, so curiously wrought, that notwithstanding the great Value of the Metal, the Workmanship seem'd to exceed it.

As soon as *Teutile* had laid all his Wealth before the *Spaniards*, he turned to *Cortes*, and making a Sign to the Interpreters, told him, *That the great Emperor Motezuma sent him those Things in Return for his Present, and to shew how much he valu'd his King's Friendship; but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it possible at that Time, according to the present Posture of his Affairs, to grant the Permission he asked of passing forward to his Court: The which Refusal Teutile endeavoured to soften, by urging the Badness of the Roads, savage Indians, who would take up Arms, and obstruct his March, and other Difficulties, which plainly discovered, that there was some Mystery in the Matter, and some particular Reason, why Motezuma would not suffer himself to be seen by the Spaniards.*

CORTES

CORTES returned Thanks for the Present, with Words of much Respect; and answered *Teutile*, *That it was not his Intention to be wanting in his Obedience to Motezuma; but that it was not in his Power to go back with Dishonour to his King, or to forbear persisting in his Demand, with all the Earnestness to which he was obliged, by the Reputation of a Crown that was honoured and respected among the greatest Princes of the World*: Enlarging upon this Point with so much Warmth and Resolution, that the *Indians* durst not reply, but, on the contrary, offered to importune *Motezuma* a second Time. He dismiss'd them with another Present like the former, letting them know, that he would expect the King's Answer without moving from that Place; but that he should be very much concerned, if by its Delay in coming, he should be obliged to go nearer to solicit it.

ALL the *Spaniards* admired *Motezuma's* Present; but their Reasonings upon it were very different, and in their Disputes, each maintain'd his own Opinion with Obstinacy. Some pleas'd themselves with the Hopes of bettering their Fortune, promising themselves mighty Advantages from such a favourable Beginning; others by the Greatness of the Present, made a Judgment of *Motezuma's* Power, and of the Difficulty of the Undertaking. Many declar'd absolutely, that the Design of attempting so great an Affair with so few Men, was

a Piece of Rashness; but the greater Part justified the Valour and Constancy of their Captain looking on the Conquest as good as made. And in fine, every one judg'd of the Success according to the Passions by which he was animated. Such are the Disputes and Reasonings of Soldiers, among whom we have stronger Proofs than elsewhere, of that Influence which the Heart has upon the Understanding. Cortez gave them Leave to talk on, concealing his own Sentiments till a proper Time; and to keep his People out of Idleness, which was the best Way to make them dispute less, he ordered two Vessels out, to view the Coast, and search out some Port, or Bay, where the Fleet might be more under Shelter, (for in that Place they had but little Security against the North-Winds) and some more fertile Piece of Ground, where they might be accommodated in Quarters, until the Return of *Moteczuma's* Answer; making a Pretence of the Suffering of his People in that sandy Soil, where the Heat of the Sun was doubled by Reflection, and the Persecution of the Mosquitoes, or Gnats, made even the Hours of Rest uneasy. He appointed Captain *Francisco de Montejo* to command in this Cruize; and pick'd out the Soldiers that were to bear him Company, being those that seem'd most averse to his own Opinion. He ordered him to run along as far as he could, steering the same Course he had done the Year before with *Grijalva*; and that he should take notice of what Towns ap-
peared

appeared along the Coast, without landing to
 view them, allotting ten Days for their Return.
 by which Means he executed what was proper
 to be done, employed those that were trou-
 lesome, and entertained the rest with Hopes
 of Relief; being himself full of Care, and
 uneasy, considering the Greatness of his De-
 sign, and the Smallness of the Means; but
 resolving not to desist till he could see the
 very utmost of the Difficulty, and so much
 Master of himself, that he disguised his inward
 Concern with an easy and chearful Counte-
 nance.

CHAP. III.

*Gives an Account how ill the Positiveness of
 Cortes was received at Mexico. Who
 Motezuma was. The Greatness of his
 Empire, and the Condition his Monarchy
 was in at the Arrival of the Spaniards.*

THE repeated Instances of *Cortes* caused
 great Disturbance at the Court of
Mexico. *Motezuma* grew angry; and in the
 first Transports of his Fury, proposed to make
 an End at once of those Strangers, who pre-
 sumed to dispute his Will. But afterwards, con-
 sidering more calmly, his Courage failed him,
 and Anger gave Way to Sorrow and Confu-
 sion. He summoned his Ministers and Relations,
 with whom he held several secret Councils.

Publick Sacrifices were made in the Temples and the People began to be uneasy, seeing the King so much disturb'd, and those who managed the Government in such a Fright, that they began to talk, with very little Reserve, of the approaching Ruin of that Empire, and of the Signs and Presages, which (according to their Traditions) threatned it. It seems necessary now, that we should shew who *Moteczuma* was, and the State of his Monarchy at this Time; and why both he and his Subjects were in such a Consternation at the coming of the *Spaniards*.

THE Empire of *Mexico* was then at its greatest Height of Glory, having under its Dominion almost all the Provinces and Countries which had been discovered in *North America*, which were govern'd by *Moteczuma* himself, or by petty Kings, or *Caziques*, his Tributaries. The Length of it extended, from East to West, above five hundred Leagues; and the Breadth, from North to South, in some Places, was two hundred; a Country populous, rich, and plentiful. On the East it was bound'd by the *Atlantick* Sea, (now call'd the *North Sea*) and extended along all that great Space of Land between *Panuco* and *Yucatan*: On the West, it reached the other Sea, being wash'd by the *Asiatick* Ocean, (or *Gulph of Anian*) from *Cape Mendocino*, to the farthest Part of *New Galicia*. On the South, it stretched out farther, running along the *South-Sea*, from *Acapulco* to *Guatimala*, approaching

approaching by the Way of *Nicaragua*, to that *Isthmus*, or narrow Neck of Land, which divides, and at the same time unites the two *America's*. On the North, it extended as far *Panuco*, including that Province; but was streighten'd considerably by the Mountains, or hilly Countries possessed by the *Chichimecas* and *Ottomies*, a barbarous People, without Government or Policy, living in the Caves of the Earth, or in the Holes of Rocks, feeding upon the Game they kill'd in Hunting, and the Fruits of such Trees as grew wild; but so dexterous in the Use of their Arrows, and in making their Advantage of the Craggs and Passes of the Mountains, that they had often withstood the whole Power of *Mexico*; being Enemies to Subjection, satisfied with not being conquered, and only desiring to preserve their Liberty, amongst the wild Beasts.

THIS Empire grew from a small Beginning to this vast Greatness, in little more than an hundred and thirty Years; for the *Mexicans*, naturally a warlike Nation, were always making way with their Arms among the rest of the Nations which inhabited that Part of the World. They were at first governed by a valiant Captain, who made them Soldiers, and sensible of Military Honour. Afterwards they chose a King, giving the supreme Dominion to the Person that had the greatest Reputation for Valour, being acquainted with no other Virtue but Fortitude; or if they were acquainted with other Virtues, they look'd upon

upon them as much inferior. They always observed this Custom of chusing the greatest Captain for their King, without Regard to hereditary Succession; yet, where Merit was equal, they preferred the Royal Blood; and the same Wars by which their Kings acquired their Titles to the Crown, by little and little enlarged the Monarchy. At first, Justice supported their Arms, for the Oppression of their Neighbours forced them to an unblameable Defence; and Heaven favoured their Cause with Success: But their Power afterwards increasing, Justice was laid aside, and Tyranny took Place.

WE shall see the Progress of this Nation, and the great Conquests they made, when we come to give an Account of the Succession of their Kings. *Moteczuma* was the Eleventh King, (according to their painted Annals) and the Second of that Name, a singular Person, and much respected among the *Mexicans*; before he began to reign.

HE was of the Royal Blood; and in his Youth followed the Wars, where he raised his Character by several heroick Actions, and gained the Reputation of a valiant Captain. He returned to the Court, somewhat puffed up with these Flatteries of Fame; and finding himself applauded and respected as the first Man of his Nation, he entertained Hopes of grasping the Sceptre at the next Election, and look'd upon himself, as going to be crown'd, from the Moment he conceived that Ambition.

HE then plac'd all his Happiness in gaining Friends; to which End he made use of some Politick Arts, a Science which sometimes does not disdain to be found amongst Barbarians, but is rather apt to make People so; when that which is called Reason of State, gets the better of natural Reason. He affected great Obedience and Veneration towards his King, and extraordinary Modesty and Composure in his Words and Actions, carefully preserving such an austere Gravity in his Countenance, that the *Indians* were wont to say, the Name of *Moteczuma* became him well, which, in their Language, signifies a surly Prince, though he endeavoured to temper his Severity, making himself agreeable by his Liberality.

HE also gained the Character of being very zealous for his Religion; a powerful Means to captivate those who are taken with outward Shew: And to this End, he built an Apartment in the most frequented Temple, after the Manner of a Tribune; to which he retir'd in the Sight of all the People, and staid there many Hours to receive the Devotion of popular Applause, or placing the Idol of his Ambition among his other Gods.

HE gained so much Veneration by these outward Appearances, that when the King his Predecessor died, the Electors gave him their Votes unanimously, and the People received him with great Acclamations. He made a Shew of refusing, suffering himself to be courted to comply with his own Desires, and seemed

to accept the Imperial Crown with Reluctancy. But no sooner was he possess'd of it, than that Artifice which he had forc'd upon his natural Temper ceased, and he discovered those Vices that had been hitherto covered with the Shew of Virtues.

THE first Action by which he manifested his Pride, was the discarding of all those that belonged to the Royal Family, which, till his Time, was compos'd of midling People and Plebeians; and under Colour of greater Decency, he made his Nobles serve him, even in the meanest Employments of his House. He shew'd himself but seldom to his Subjects, and only when it was necessary to his Ministers and Domesticks, looking upon Retirement and Melancholy as a Part of Majesty; and for those who obtain'd Leave to come into his Presence, he invented new Obediences and Ceremonies, enlarging Respect almost to Adoration. He perswaded himself, that he had the entire Command of the Lives and Liberties of his Subjects, and exercised great Cruelties, that he might put it out of Doubt with others.

HE impos'd new Taxes, without any publick Necessity, at a certain Rate on each Head of that vast Number of Subjects; and exacted it with so much Rigour, that even poor Beggars were not exempted from the miserable Oppression, bringing to his Treasury some mean Things, which were received, and then thrown away before their Faces.

THESE

THESE violent Practices made his People fear him : But as it is usual for Fear and Hatred to go together, some Provinces rebelled ; to reduce which, he went himself in Person, being too jealous of his Authority, to suffer any other to command his Armies. But tho' this was his Motive, it cannot be denied, that he had a martial Inclination and Spirit. None were able to resist his Power, and maintain their Rebellion, except the Provinces of *Mexicoacan*, *Tlascala*, and *Tebeaca*. And he was wont to say, " He did not subdue them, because he wanted those Enemies to supply him with Captives for the Sacrifices of his Gods." A Tyrant, even in Toleration, and in forbearing Punishment.

He had reigned fourteen Years when *Cortes* arrived on his Coasts; and the last of them was full of Presages, horrible, and wonderful Portents, which God either ordain'd, or permitted, to depress the Spirits of those fierce People, and render less impossible to the *Spaniards*, that great Work which his Providence was about to accomplish, by Means so disproportion'd to it.

CHAP. IV.

An Account of the several Prodigies and Signs, that were seen in Mexico before the Arrival of Cortes; from which the Indians apprehended, that the Ruin of their Empire drew near.

AFTER knowing who *Moteczuma* was and the Condition and Greatness of his Empire, it remains that we enquire into the Motives which caus'd that Prince and his Ministers so obstinately to oppose the pressing Instance made by *Hernan Cortes*: The first Effort of the Devil, and the first Difficulty in the Undertaking.

UPON the first Account which came to Mexico of the Spaniards, when *Juan de Grijalva* arrived upon the Coast the Year before, several Prodigies began to appear in this Country, and very astonishing Signs, which did in a Manner assure *Moteczuma*, that the Ruin of his Empire drew near; and greatly terrified and discouraged both him and his Subjects.

A frightful Comet appeared many Nights, in Shape like a Pyramid, which beginning at Midnight, advanc'd slowly to the highest Part of the Heavens, where it vanish'd at the Presence of the Sun.

AFTERWARDS, at Mid-day, another Comet, or Exhalation, was seen to rise in the West, like a fiery Serpent with three Heads, which

an swiftly till it vanished in the East, scattering an infinite Number of Sparks that dy'd in the Air.

THE great Lake of Mexico overflowed its Banks, and with an extraordinary Impetuosity crown'd the Country, carrying away several Houses, with a sort of Waves that look'd as if it had boil'd up; tho' there were no Floods or stormy Weather, to which they could attribute the Motion of the Waters.

ONE of their Temples took Fire of itself, without their being able to find out the Cause of its burning, or Means to extinguish the Flame. The very Stones were seen to burn, and the whole Pile was reduced to little more than Ashes. Lamentable Voices were heard in the Air from different Parts, which foretold the End of that Monarchy; and the same Prognostications were repeated in the Answers of their Idols; the Devil pronouncing by them what he could conjecture of those Natural Causes which were in Motion, or as much as the God of Nature permitted him to know, who sometimes torments him by making him the Instrument of Truth.

SEVERAL Monsters of horrible Deformity, and never seen before, were brought to the King; which, in his Opinion, had a Meaning, and denoted great Misfortunes. And if Monsters were so called by the Ancients, because they believ'd them to demonstrate something, it was not strange that they should be held for Presages among those barbarous People, where Ignorance

Ignorance and Superstition went hand in hand.

HISTORIES make mention of two very remarkable Accidents, which extremely troubled the Mind of *Moteczuma*; nor are they fit to be omitted, since they found Credit with *Joseph de Acosta*, *Juan Botero*, and other Writers of Judgment and Authority.

CERTAIN Fishermen near the Lake of *Mexico* took a monstrous Fowl, of extraordinary Make and Bigness; and accounting it valuable for its Novelty, presented the same to the King. Its Deformity was horrible, and on the Head of it was a shining Plate like a Looking-Glass, from which the Sun reflected a sort of dim and melancholy Light. *Moteczuma* observed it, and drawing nearer to take a better View, saw within it a Representation of the Night, amidst whose Obscurity were seen some Parts of the Heaven covered with Stars, and so distinctly represented, that he turned his Eyes to the Sun, as one doubtful of the Day: And upon fixing his Eyes the second Time on that seeming Glass, he spy'd, instead of Night, what gave him greater Astonishment; for there appeared to his Sight an Army of Men, that came from the East, making a terrible Slaughter of his Subjects. He assembled the Magicians and Priests to consult about this Prodigy, and the Bird stood immovable, till many of them had tried the same Experiment; but then it got away,

and vanish'd in their Presence, leaving them another Presage in its astonishing Flight.

SOME few Days after a Country-man came to the Palace, one that was reputed a plain downright Man, who earnestly, and with mysterious Instances, press'd to have Audience of the King. He was introduced to his Presence after various Consultations, and having made his Obedience, without any Manner of Disturbance or Fear, he spoke to him in his rustick Idiom, but with a kind of Freedom and Eloquence, which denoted a more than natural Transport, or that the Words were not his own, but were inspired, saying, " Yesterday in the Evening, Sir, being upon my Farm, employed in the Improvement of my Land, I saw an Eagle of an extraordinary Magnitude, which stoop'd down furiously upon me, and, catching me between his Claws, carried me a great Way through the Air, till he set me down near a spacious Cave, in which was a Man in Royal Robes, sleeping amongst Diversity of Flowers and Perfumes, with a scented Composition burning in his Hand. I drew somewhat nearer, and saw your Likeness, or, perhaps, it was yourself; for I cannot affirm, though, in my own Opinion, I had my Senses free. I was going to withdraw, being afraid, and full of Awe; but an imperious Voice stopp'd and frighted me a-new, commanding me to take the burning Perfume out of your Hand, and apply it to a Part of your Thigh that was un-

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“ covered. I refused as long as I could, to com-
“ mit such a Piece of Wickedness: But the
“ same Voice, in a terrible Tone, forced me to
“ obey. Upon which, Sir, without being able
“ to resist, and being made bold by Fear, I ap-
“ plied the burning Composition to your Thigh,
“ and you endured the burning, without
“ waking, or making any Motion. I should
“ have thought you dead, but that your quiet
“ Breathing shewed you to be alive. Then
“ that same Voice (which seemed to be formed
“ in the Air) said to me; Thus sleeps thy
“ King, given up to his Delights and Vanities,
“ when he has the Anger of his Gods upon
“ him, and so many Enemies, who come from
“ the other Part of the World to destroy his
“ Monarchy and Religion. Bid him awake,
“ and prevent, if he can, the Miseries and
“ Calamities that threaten him. Scarce had
“ he pronounced these Words, which I bear
“ deeply imprinted in my Memory, when the
“ Eagle took me up in his Talons, and set
“ me down on my Land, without the least
“ Hurt. And thus do I perform what the Gods
“ have enjoin’d me. Awake, Sir; for your
“ Pride and Cruelty have provok’d them:
“ I say again, Awake, or take Care how you
“ sleep, since the burning Sting of your Con-
“ science does not rouse you; nor can you be
“ now ignorant, that the Cries of your People
“ have reached Heaven before they came to
“ your Ears.”

THESE,

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THESE, or such like Words, did the Peasant deliver, or the Spirit, that spoke in him; and turning his Back, went off with so much Resolution, that no Man durst stop him. *Moteczuma* (in the first Heat of his Passion) was going to order him to be killed; but was prevented by a new Pain he felt in his Thigh, where he, and all present, beheld the Mark of a fresh Burning: Which strange Sight astonish'd and made him thoughtful; but he still resolved to punish the Peasant, by making him a Sacrifice to appease his Gods. These Admonitions proceeded from the Devil, and shew'd the Wickedness of their Original, as serving rather to provoke a Man to Anger and Obstinacy, than to bring him to the Knowledge of his Fault.

BOTH these Accidents might be improv'd by the Credulity of those barbarous People, from whose Relation the *Spaniards* had them in this Manner: But we do not think it unlikely, that the Devil should make use of such-like Artifices to set *Moteczuma* against the *Spaniards*, and put what Stops he could to the Introduction of the Gospel. For it is certain, that he might (supposing the Divine Permission in the Use of his Knowledge) feign or form those Phantoms and monstrous Apparitions, or even make visible Bodies, by condensing the Air with a Mixture of the other Elements; or, as often happens, he might impose upon the Senses, and delude the Imagination; of which we have some Examples

in the holy Scriptures, which make what we find of the same Nature in prophane History the more credible.

THESE and other portentous Signs, which were seen at *Mexico*, and in several Parts of the Empire, had so broke the Spirit of *Moteczuma*, and so dismayed the wise Men of his Council, that when the second Embassy from *Cortes* arrived, they concluded, that all the Ruin and Calamity with which they were threatened, was come upon them.

THE Consultations were long, and the Opinions various. Some thought, that those armed Strangers, coming at a Time of so many Prodigies, ought to be treated as Enemies; for that either to admit, or trust them, would be opposing the Will of their Gods, who had given them so many Warnings before the Blow, in order to avoid it. Others, either out of Moderation or Fear, endeavoured to obstruct the Breach, by extolling the Valour of the Strangers, the Force of their Arms, and the Fierceness of their Horses, and by calling to Mind the Destruction and Slaughter they made at *Tabasco* (of which War they had immediate Notice); and tho' they did not believe they were immortal, as the Fear of the Vanquished had given out, yet did they not think them Creatures of their own Species, but found in them some Resemblance of their Gods, by their Management of Lightning, with which (in their Opinion) they fought, and by the Command they had over those
Brutes,

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Brutes, who understood their Orders, and fought for them.

MOTEZUMA heard them; and taking a Medium between both Opinions, resolved absolutely to deny *Cortes* the Liberty he asked of coming to his Court; to command him immediately to leave those Coasts; and at the same Time, to send him another Present like the former, which might engage him to obey. But in case this should not be sufficient, he resolved to use Force, and raise a powerful Army of such Men, that there should be no Cause to fear the like ill Success as at *Tabasco*. For he was sensible he ought not to despise the small Number of those Strangers, in whose prodigious Arms, and extraordinary Valour, there appeared so many Advantages; especially, considering that they arrived upon his Coasts at so calamitous a Time, and when so many frightful Prodigies had appeared, as seemed to magnify their Forces, since they merited the Care and Warning of his Gods.

C H A P. V.

Francisco de Montejo returns, having discovered the Town of Quiabitslan. Motezuma's Ambassadors arrive, and depart dissatisfy'd. The Soldiers incline to Mutiny; and Hernan Cortes makes use of Artifice to appease them.

WHILST Motezuma's Court was taken up with these melancholy Reflections, *Hernan Cortes* endeavoured to get some Account of the Country; to gain the good Will of the *Indians* who repaired to his Quarters; and to encourage his Men, by inspiring them with the same great Hopes of which his own Heart assured him. At that Time *Francisco de Montejo* returned from his Voyage, having coasted some Leagues up to the Northward, and discovered a Town called *Quiabitslan*, situate in a fertile Soil, and well cultivated, near an anchoring Place, or Bay, capacious enough, where, in the Opinion of the Pilots, the Ships might ride and be secure under the Shelter of some great Rocks, which broke the Force of the Winds. This Place was distant from *St. Juan de Ulua*, about twelve Leagues: And *Hernan Cortes* began to consider it as a commodious Situation whither to remove his Quarters: But before he came to a Resolution, *Motezuma's* Answer arrived.

TEUTILE, with the principal Captains of his Troops, came with their little Perfuming
Pans,

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Pans, burning Gum-Copal. After the smooking Courtesies and Ceremonies were over, *Teutile* ordered *Motezuma's* Present to be produced; which was somewhat less, but of the same Sort of Goods, and Pieces of Gold, as came with the first Embassy: All that they brought particular, was four green Stones, like Emeralds, called *Chalcuities*; and *Teutile* told *Cortes*, with a great deal of Gravity, *That Motezuma had sent those Stones to the King of Spain, as Jewels of an inestimable Value:* An Enhancement to which little Regard was to be had, where Glass was held in such great Esteem.

THE Embassy was deliver'd in Terms resolute and disagreeable; and the Conclusion of it was, to dismiss the Guests without giving them Leave to reply. Night drew on; and when *Cortes* was beginning his Answer, the *Ave-Maria* Bell rung in that Barrack that served for a Chapel: He kneel'd down to say that Prayer; as did all the rest, after his Example. Their Silence and Devotion struck the *Indians* with Admiration; and *Teutile* asked *Donna Marina* the Meaning of that Ceremony. *Cortes* understood their Question, and thought it proper to make use of this Opportunity, while he satisfy'd their Curiosity, to talk to them upon the Subject of Religion. Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* took it in hand; and endeavoured to suit his Discourse to their Blindness, giving them some small Light into the Mysteries of our Faith. He labour'd, with

all his Eloquence, to make them understand that there was but One God, the Beginning and End of all Things: That in their Idols they adored the Devil, the mortal Enemy of Mankind; enforcing what he said with Reasons easy to be comprehended: Which the *Indians* listened to with some sort of Attention, as if they were sensible of the Force of Truth.

HERNAN CORTES made use of this Beginning to return to his Answer; telling *Teutile*, That one of the Points of his Embassy, and the principal Motive which his King had to offer his Friendship to Moteczuma, was, the Obligation Christian Princes lay under to oppose the Errors of Idolatry, and the Desire he had to instruct him in the Knowledge of the Truth, and to help him to get free from the Slavery of the Devil, the invisible Tyrant of his Kingdoms, who, in Reality, held him a Slave and Vassal, tho' in outward Appearance, he was so powerful a Monarch. And that coming from such remote Countries, upon Affairs of such a Nature, and in the Name of another more powerful King, he could not omit making new Efforts, and persevering in his Instances, till he should prevail to be heard, since he came on a peaceable Account, as appeared by the small Number of his Men, from which no Suspicion could be had of greater Designs.

No sooner had *Teutile* heard the Resolution of Cortes, than he started up hastily, and with
some

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Some sort of Impatience, between Anger and Confusion, told him, *That hitherto the Great Motezuma had treated him courteously, and as a Guest; but that if he continued obstinate, it would be his own Fault, if he found himself treated as an Enemy*; and without staying for an Answer, or so much as taking Leave, he turned his Back, and went hastily out of his Presence, followed by *Pilpatoe*, and the rest of his Attendants. *Hernan Cortes* was a little startled at *Teutile's* Proceeding; but so much Master of himself, that turning to his People, with a Smile in his Countenance, "We shall see, says he, where this Challenge will end: We know already how their Armies fight. And, for the most part, Threats are the Effects of Fear." And whilst they were gathering up the Present, he went on, "These Barbarians shall not so easily prevail with a *Spanish* Army to retire; for those Riches are to be looked upon as Gifts out of Season, which shew more Weakness than Generosity." Thus did he lay hold of all Opportunities, to encourage his People. And that very Night (tho' it was not likely that the *Mexicans* should have prepared an Army to assault the Quarters) the Guards were doubled, and *Cortes* provided against what was possible, as against a Thing certain: For Commanders can never be too careful; and many times, that which seems superfluous, is found to have been necessary.

As

As soon as the Day appeared, the *Spaniards* found a considerable Alteration, which gave them some Disturbance; for those *Indians* which inhabited *Pilpatoe's* Cabbins, were retired within the Land, and not a Man appeared in all the Country: Those also kept away, who used to bring them Provisions from the neighbouring Towns. These Beginnings of Want (rather feared, than suffered) were sufficient to make some Soldiers begin to be uneasy, looking upon it as very unadvised to think of settling in that Country; which Murmuring some Friends of *Diego Velasquez* took Advantage of, and began to exclaim, saying, without any Reserve, in common Discourse, *That Hernan Cortes had a Mind to destroy them, and ambitiously pursued a Design, without a Force any Way proportioned to the Undertaking: That the Intention of maintaining themselves with such a Handful of People in the Dominions of so powerful a Prince, would be judged rash by all Men: And that it was now necessary, that they should all demand to return to the Island of Cuba, in order to refit the Fleet, and reinforce the Army, and so proceed upon that Undertaking with better Foundation.*

HERNAN CORTES was informed of this, and making use of his Friends and Confidants to enquire into the Opinions of the rest of his Men, he found that he had on his Side the most in Number, and those of greatest Consequence. Upon which Security he suffered himself

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himself to be seen by the Malecontents. *Diego Ordaz* was the Person who spoke in the Name of all, and, with some Heat and Disrespect, told him, "That the Soldiers were very much dissatisfy'd, and upon the Point of laying aside all Obedience, having been informed that he designed to prosecute his Undertaking; and that no body could blame them, for neither the Number of Men, Condition of the Ships, nor their Reserve of Provisions or Ammunitions of War, had any Proportion with the Intent of conquering so large and powerful an Empire: That no Man had so little Value for himself, as to submit to be cast away to please another's Humour; and that therefore it was now Time to consider of returning to the Island of *Cuba*, to the end that *Diego Velasquez* might reinforce his Fleet, and take this difficult Enterprize in hand upon better Advice, and with a greater Force."

HERNAN CORTES heard him, without seeming offended, as he had Reason to be, both with the Proposal, and the Manner of delivering it; on the contrary, he answered him, (with a composed Voice and Countenance) "That he was obliged to him for the Advice, not having known before, that the Soldiers were dissatisfied; but on the contrary, believing that they were well contented, and desirous to go on; because in that Enterprize, none could complain of *Fortune*, but those that were weary of being
" happy :

“ happy ; That a Voyage, without any ill Ac-
 “ cidents, favoured by the Winds and Seas
 “ Successes, such as their Hearts could wish
 “ the remarkable Favours of Heaven at Co-
 “ *zumel*; a Victory at *Tabasco*; and in that
 “ Country where they were, so much good
 “ Treatment and Prosperity ; were not Presages
 “ that could any Ways discourage them.
 “ That neither was it very much for their
 “ Honour to desist from their Undertaking,
 “ before they had seen the Face of Danger,
 “ especially, considering that Difficulties are
 “ wont to appear greatest at a Distance, and
 “ the Phantoms of Danger, form’d by the
 “ Imagination, to vanish upon the Experiment.
 “ But that if the Soldiers were already so de-
 “ jected and fearful, (as he said) it would be
 “ a Folly to depend upon them in so difficult
 “ an Enterprize ; and therefore he would im-
 “ mediately consider of returning to the
 “ Island of *Cuba*, as had been proposed ;
 “ confessing, that the Knowledge of the pri-
 “ vate Soldiers being possessed with that Op-
 “ nion, did not make such an Impression upon
 “ him, as it did to find it supported by the
 “ Advice of his Friends.” With these and
 other such like Words, he at that Time
 frustrated the Intention of those prejudiced
 Mutineers, without leaving them any thing to
 desire, till the Time should come to undeceive
 them ; and with this artful Disimulation (some-
 times allow’d to Prudence) he made believe,
 that he receded from his Resolution, that he
 might be the better able to pursue it.

C H A P. VI.

The Return to Cuba is given out. The Soldiers, prepar'd by Cortes, exclaim against it. The Cazique of Zempoala sues for his Friendship, and, in fine, they make a Settlement.

SOON after *Diego de Ordaz* and those of his Party had left *Hernan Cortes*, he gave Directions for publishing the Return to the Island of *Cuba*, and ordered the Captains should embark with their respective Companies on Board the Vessels under their Command, and be ready to sail the next Day early in the Morning: But no sooner was this Resolution published among the Soldiers, than those who were underhand gained to the General's Interest began to stir in the Affair, crying out, " That *Hernan Cortes* had deceived them, making them believe they were going to settle in that Country; that they would not leave it, or return to the Island of *Cuba*; adding, that if he had a Mind to retire, he might do it with all such as were willing to follow him, for they could not want some Gentleman that would take upon him to command them."

THIS Clamour increased so much, and was so well managed, that it brought over many of those that had been forced or persuaded into the contrary Faction; and *Cortes's* Friends, who

who had stirred up one Part, were obliged to appease the other. They commended their Resolution, and offered to speak to *Cortes* to suspend the Execution of his Order. And before this Ardour cooled, they went to him, attended by many of the Soldiers, in whose Presence they acquainted him loudly, “ That
 “ the Troops were upon the Point to mutiny
 “ on account of his Order : They complain’d,
 “ (or pretended that others did) that he had
 “ taken such a Resolution, without the Advice
 “ of his Captains. They laid it before
 “ him as a Dishonour, unbecoming *Spaniards*,
 “ to quit their Undertaking on the first Rumours
 “ of Difficulty, and to turn their Backs
 “ before they had drawn their Swords. They
 “ put him in Mind of what had happened to
 “ *Juan de Grijalva* ; that all the Displeasure
 “ of *Diego de Velasquez* was occasioned by
 “ his not making a Settlement in the Country
 “ he had discover’d, and maintaining himself
 “ there ; for which he was treated as a pusillanimous
 “ Person, and the Command of the Fleet taken from him.” In fine,
 they told him what he himself had dictated,
 to which he hearkened as to something new :
 And suffering himself to be entreated and persuaded
 to do what he desired, gave them to understand
 that he was convinced ; saying,
 “ That he had been misinformed ; that some
 “ of those who were principally concerned in
 “ the Success of the Undertaking, (whom he
 “ did not name, to make the greater Mystery
 “ of

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of the Matter) had assured him that all the Men cried out to leave that Country, and return to the Island of *Cuba*; and that as he had taken that Resolution (contrary to his own Opinion) to please his Soldiers, he would stay with much more Satisfaction, since he found them better disposed for the Service of the King, and to discharge the Duty of good *Spaniards*; but that they must know he would not have Soldiers against their Inclinations; nor was War an Employment for those that were forced to it; that whosoever thought fit to return to the Island of *Cuba*, might freely do it, and that he would immediately give Orders to provide Vessels and Provisions for the Voyage of all such as were not willing to follow his Fortune." This Resolution met with great Applause: Their Acclamations rung with the Name of *Cortes*: The Air was filled with Noise and Hats, after the Manner Soldiers are wont to express their Satisfaction: Some made Rejoicings, because they were truly glad, and others, that they might not be distinguished from those who were so. No one was so bold at that Time as to contradict the making of a Settlement; nor did those very Men, who had been the Malecontents, know what to say for themselves; but *Hernan Cortes* admitted of such Excuses as they could offer, without enquiring further into the Affair, laying that up for a better Opportunity.

It

It happened at this Time, that whilst *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, with another Soldier stood Centinels at one of the Avenues, they spy'd five *Indians* coming along the Way near the Sea-side, towards the Quarters, and thinking them too small a Number to alarm the Army, they suffer'd them to draw near. They stopp'd at a little Distance, and gave to understand by Signs, that they came in a peaceable Manner with a Message to their General. *Bernal Diaz* went with them, leaving his Comrade in the same Post to observe if any more followed. *Hernan Cortes* received them very civilly, ordering them to be well treated before he heard them, and observed they seem'd to be of another Nation, as differing from the *Mexicans* in their Habit, though like them they had Rings in their Ears and Lips, with Jewels hanging to them; which, tho' they were of Gold, were a Deformity, instead of an Ornament. Their Language also had a different Sound; and when *Aguilar* and *Donna Marina* came, it appear'd that they spoke in a different Idiom; and it was good Luck that one of them understood, and with some Difficulty pronounced the *Mexican* Language; by which Means, and not without some Trouble, it was known, that they were sent by the Lord of *Zempoala* (a Province at a small Distance) to visit the Captain of those valiant People, whose great Actions in the Province of *Tabasco* had reached his Ears; and who being a warlike Prince, and a Friend

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to brave Men, desired his Friendship. They dwelt much upon the Value their Master had for good Soldiers, as doubting lest the *Spaniards* should attribute that to his Fear, which sounded better as the Effect of his Inclination.

HERNAN CORTES very courteously accepted of the good Correspondence and Friendship proposed to him on the Part of their Cazique, looking on it as a particular Favour of Heaven, that this Embassy should arrive at a Time when the *Mexicans* had left him, of whom he was now grown jealous; and he put the more Value upon it, when he understood that the Province of *Zempoala* was in the Road to that Place, which *Francisco de Montejo* discovered from the Coast, whither he was then thinking to remove his Quarters. He asked the *Indians* some Questions, to inform himself of the Inclination and Forces of the Cazique. One of them was, How it came to pass, that they (being so near) had so long delayed coming with this Proposal? To which they answered, that the *Zempoalans* had nothing to do where the *Mexicans* appeared, whose Cruelties were ill brooked by those of their Nation.

THIS Intelligence was not disagreeable to *Hernan Cortes*; and diving farther into it with some Curiosity, he understood that *Moteczuma* was a cruel Prince, abhorred for his Pride and Tyranny; that many of his People were subject out of Fear; and that some Provinces thereabouts were desirous to free them-

selves from his Yoke. This made his Power
 appear the less formidable; and several Sorts
 of Stratagems came into his Head, and Means
 of increasing his Army, which gave him some
 sort of confused Encouragement. The first
 that occur'd, was to take Part with those af-
 flicted People; believing that it would not be
 difficult or unreasonable to form a Party against
 a Tyrant among his own Rebels. So he rea-
 soned then; and it fell out afterwards accord-
 ingly, it being verified (by a fresh Example) in
 the Ruin of that so powerful an Empire, that
 the greatest Strength of a King consists in the
 Love of his Subjects. He immediately dis-
 miss'd those *Indians* with some Gifts, in Token
 of Friendship; and told them he would soon
 go and pay their Master a Visit, in order to
 establish a Friendship with him, and give him
 the Assistance he should stand in need of.

His Intent was to pass through that Province,
 and take a View of *Quiabistan*, where he had
 Thoughts of fixing his first Settlement, by Rea-
 son of the good Account he had received of
 its Fertility. But it behov'd him for other
 Ends, which he was then contriving how to
 compass, to hasten the forming of his small
 Corporation in his present Quarters, altho' he
 was to remove the Troops to a Place more
 commodious. He communicated his Resolu-
 tion with those Captains that were his Confi-
 dents; and having, by this Means, smoothed
 the Way for what he had to propose, he as-
 sembled the Men, in order to name the Offi-
 cers

ers of the new Government. At which short Conference, those who were acquainted with the Mind of *Cortes* prevailed; and *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero*, and *Francisco de Montejo*, were appointed Alcaldes; *Alonso Davila*, *Pedro* and *Alonso de Alvarado*, and *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, were Regidores: The chief Alguazil and Procurator-General were *Juan de Escalante* and *Francisco Alvarez Chico*. They also appointed the Clerk of the Council, with other inferior Officers; and having taken the accustomed Oath, to observe Reason and Justice, according to their Duty, for the greater Service of God and the King, they took Possession, and began to exercise their Employments with the usual Solemnity, calling their new Settlement by the Name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, which Title it preserved in the Place where it was afterwards fixed, being called *Villa Rica*, in Remembrance of the Gold they had seen in that Country, and *de la Vera Cruz*, in Acknowledgment of their landing there on the Friday of the *Cross*, or *Good-Friday*.

HERNAN CORTES was present at these Functions, as a private Person among the other Members of the Colony: And tho' he could not easily lay aside that Kind of Superiority which is wont to consist in the Respect which others pay, he endeavoured to support the Authority of these new Ministers, and by his Respect, to induce the rest to obey them. And this Deference was founded upon Policy; for

the Authority of that Council, and the Submission of the rest to them, was of much Consequence to him, to the End that the Sword of Justice, and the Voice of the People, might supply the Defect of the Military Jurisdiction, which resided in him by Delegation from *Diego Velasquez*, and which being, in Truth, revoked, stood then upon too weak a Foundation to enter upon so difficult an Enterprize: A Defect which gave him great Uneasiness; for he was obliged to dissemble it with those that obeyed him, and was embarras'd in his Resolutions by the Difficulty of making himself be obeyed.

C H A P. VII.

Hernan Cortes (in the first Council which was held at Vera Cruz) renounces the Title of Captain-General, which he held from Diego Velasquez; and the Town and People elect him anew.

THE next Day in the Morning the Council met, under Colour of consulting about some Points relating to the Preservation and Augmentation of their new Settlement; and soon after *Hernan Cortes* desired Admittance to propose an Affair which concern'd the publick Good. The Council rose up to receive him; and he paying his Respects

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to the Magistracy of the Town, went and took his Seat immediately next to the first Regidor, and spoke to this Effect :

“ GENTLEMEN, Since, by the Mercy of
“ God, we have in this Council the Person of
“ the King represented, before whom we
“ ought to discover our Hearts, and speak
“ without Artifice, which is the Vassalage,
“ whereby Men of Worth pay him the
“ greatest Acknowledgment ; I come into
“ your Presence, as if I appeared before his,
“ without any other Design than that of his
“ Service, in which sort of Zeal you will
“ allow me the Ambition of not being your
“ inferior. You are considering of the Means
“ of establishing this new Corporation, happy
“ already in depending upon your Direction.
“ It will not be foreign to the Purpose to in-
“ form you of my Thoughts and Resolutions,
“ that you may not act upon any ill-founded
“ Suppositions, which may oblige you to rea-
“ son afresh, and take new Measures. This
“ Town, which to Day begins to rise under
“ the Protection of your Government, is
“ founded in a Country unknown, and full
“ of People, where we have already seen
“ some Signs of Resistance, sufficient to make
“ us believe that we are engaged in a difficult
“ Enterprize, where we shall stand in equal
“ Need of Heads and Hands, and where very
“ often Force must prosecute what Prudence
“ has begun. This is not a Time to depend
“ on politick Maxims, or unarmed Counsels.

“ Your first Care must be to preserve this
 “ Army, which serves you as a Rampart; and
 “ ’tis my first Duty to inform you, that it is
 “ not at this Time in such a Condition as is
 “ requisite to entrust it with our Security, and
 “ our Hopes. You very well know, that I
 “ command this Army without any other
 “ Commission than the Nomination of *Diego*
 “ *Velasquez*, which was recall’d soon after
 “ it had been given me. I lay aside the In-
 “ jury he did me by his Mistrust, as being an-
 “ other Affair: But I cannot deny, that the
 “ Military Power, which we so much stand
 “ in need of, is lodged at present in me, con-
 “ trary to the Inclination of him who gave it,
 “ and is founded on a Title of Force, which
 “ cannot conceal the Weakness of its Origi-
 “ nal. The Soldiers are not ignorant of this
 “ Defect; nor am I so mean-spirited, as to
 “ desire to command them with such Autho-
 “ rity as may be questioned: Nor is the En-
 “ terprize we have in hand of such a Nature,
 “ as to enter upon it with an Army that rather
 “ obeys out of mere Custom, than for that it
 “ is under a reasonable Obligation of Obedi-
 “ ence. It belongs to you, Gentlemen, to
 “ apply the Remedy to this Inconveniency;
 “ and the Council which at present represents
 “ our King, may, in his Royal Name, pro-
 “ vide for the Government of his Troops, by
 “ chusing a Person free from such Excepti-
 “ ons. There are several Persons in this Army
 “ capable of that Employment, and it will
 “ be

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“ be much better fill’d by any one that may
“ have another Sort of Authority, or that may
“ receive it at your Hands. I, from this Mo-
“ ment, quit all Right which could accrue to
“ me by Possession, and deliver back into your
“ Hands the Title by which I have held it,
“ that you may consider with all possible Free-
“ dom upon your Election: And I can assure
“ you, that all my Ambition solely tends to
“ promote the good Success of our Under-
“ taking; and that I can, without offering the
“ least Violence to myself, take up a Pike
“ with that Hand which lays down the Staff
“ of a General; for if in War Men learn to
“ command by obeying, there are also Cases,
“ in which the having commanded, teaches
“ them how to obey.”

THIS said, he threw upon the Table the Commission given him by *Diego Velasquez*, kiss’d the Truncheon, and delivering it into the Hands of the Alcaldes, retired to his Barrack. It is likely he was under no Uneasiness about the Event; for he had so disposed Matters, that he adventured but little in the Resolution. But it must be confess’d; that his Manner of Acting was handsome and noble, and no less commendable the Art he used to supply the Defects in his Authority, which had neither Force nor Decency. The Council soon resolv’d upon the Election; for some had considered what they were to propose, and others had nothing to reply. They all voted to admit the Resignation of *Cortes*; but that

he ought to be obliged to take upon him the Command of the Army again; the Town giving him his Commission in the Name of the King, during the Time, and in the Interim, until His Majesty should otherwise order. And they resolved to communicate the new Election to the People, either to see how they would receive it, or that indeed they were satisfied of their Approbation.

THE People were called together by the Voice of a Crier; and the Renunciation of *Cortes* being published, with the Resolution of the Council, they received such Applause as was either hoped or concerted. Great were the Acclamations and Rejoicings of the People. Some congratulated the Council on their good Election: Others demanded *Cortes*, as if he had been denied them: And if any were of a contrary Opinion, they either dissembled their Discontent by Acclamations, or took care not to be remarkable by their Silence. This Work being over, the Alcaldes and Regidores went with the greatest Part of those Soldiers (who now represented the Town's People) to the Quarters of *Hernan Cortes*; and acquainted him, That the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz* had, in the Name of the King *Don Carlos*, with the Consent and Approbation of the Inhabitants, in full Council, chosen and appointed him General of the Army of *New Spain*; and, in case it were necessary, did require and command him to take upon him that Post, it being convenient for

for the publick Good of the Town, and his Majesty's greater Service.

HERNAN CORTES accepted the new Command (for so he called it, to distinguish it even by Name from that which he had renounced) with great Civility and Respect; and now began to govern the Troops with another kind of inward Security, which had its Effect in the Obedience of the Soldiers.

THE Dependents upon *Diego Velasquez* presented this Alteration in a very indiscreet Manner; for they could not disguise their Vexation, nor would they give way to the Current which they were not able to stem. They endeavoured to invalidate the Authority of the Council, and cast Reflections on *Cortes*, blaming his Ambition, and talking with Contempt of those that were deceived, and did not know it. And as Scandal has its hidden Poison, and an unknown Power over those that hear it, it spread in their Conversations, where there wanted not some who hearken'd to, and endeavoured to foment it. *Hernan Cortes* did all that lay in his Power to remedy this Inconvenience in the Beginning, apprehending it might draw away those who were already disquieted, or put those into a Commotion who were easily stirred up. He had already found by Experience how little his Patience avail'd, and that gentle Means produc'd contrary Effects, rendring the Evil worse; and therefore resolv'd to make use of Severity, which generally has the best Effect

Effect upon the Insolent. He ordered *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro Escudero*, and *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, to be seized, publicly carried on board the Fleet, and put in Irons. This Action struck a great Terror into the Troops; and it was his Design to improve it, declaring in a very positive and resolute Manner, that he seized them as seditious Persons, and Disturbers of the publick Peace; and that he would proceed against them, and make them pay for their Obstinacy with the Loss of their Heads. In which Severity, whether real or affected, he continu'd some Days, without proceeding to the Rigor of Justice: For he rather desired to reform, than to punish them. At first he suffer'd none to go near them; but afterwards, by way of Toleration, permitted it, artfully making use of this Permission, for some of his Confidants to endeavour to reduce, and bring them to Reason; which in Time they compassed, he suffering himself to be pacified so effectually, that he made them his Friends; and they stood by him in all the Accidents which afterwards befel him.

C H A P. VIII.

The Spaniards march; and the Fleet sails for Quiabitslan. They enter Zempoala in their Way; where the Cazique makes them welcome; and they receive fresh Accounts of the Tyrannies of Motézuma.

AS soon as the aforefaid Persons were imprison'd, *Pedro de Alvarado* march'd out with a hundred Men, to view the Country, and bring in some Provisions; for now they began to be sensible of the Want of those *Indians* who used to provide the Army. He was ordered to commit no Hostility, nor make use of Arms but in case of Necessity, being obliged to it by Provocation, or for Defence; and he had the good Luck to perform his Commission in that Manner, with little Trouble. At a small Distance he came into some Villages or Hamlets, the Inhabitants whereof had fled into the Woods, but had left the Houses well provided with Hens, *Indian* Corn, and other Provisions; and without doing any Damage, either to the Houses or their Furniture, the Soldiers took what they had Occasion for, as acquired by the Right of Necessity, and returned to their Quarters, loaded and well pleased.

HERNAN CORTES immediately disposed his March, as he had resolved, and the Ships set sail for the Bay of *Quiabitslan*; he followed

lowed by Land, taking the Road of *Zempoala*, keeping the Coast on his Right Hand, and sending out a Party before to discover the Country, providing very considerably against all Accidents which might happen in a Country, where Security might be blamed as a Neglect.

IN few Hours they reached the River of *Zempoala* (near which they afterwards found the City of *Vera Cruz*); and by reason it run deep, they were obliged to get some Canoes, and other Vessels of Fishermen, which they found upon the Shore, in which the Soldiers passed over, making their Horses swim. Having overcome this Difficulty, they arrived at some Houses in the District of *Zempoala* (as they afterwards found); and they took it for no good Sign to find them, not only forsaken by the *Indians*, but also without either Furniture or Provisions, betokening a premeditated and concerted Flight; only they left in their Temples several Idols, with various Instruments, or Knives made of Flint, and some miserable Remains of human Victims, scattered upon the Ground, which at the same Time mov'd Compassion and Horror.

HERE they first saw (and not without Admiration) the *Mexican* Books, of which we have already made mention. There were three or four of them in the Temples, which, 'twas thought, contained the Rites of their Religion, made of a long Skin, or varnished Cloth, which they folded in equal Doublings,

so that every Fold made a Leaf, and all together made up the Volume, like ours to the outward Appearance; and for the Letters, they were written or painted with that kind of Imagery or Cyphers used by the Painters of *Teutile*.

THE Army was presently quartered in the best Houses, and passed the Night somewhat incommodiously, their Arms in Readiness, with Centinels at a convenient Distance, by whose Watching the rest might take some Repose.

THE next Day they continu'd their March in the same Order, along the most beaten Road, which turned off to the Westward, leading further from the Shore; and during the whole Morning they saw no Person, of whom to gain Intelligence, nor aught but a suspicious Solitude, whose very Silence made a Noise in their Imagination, and gave them Uneasiness; till entring into some very delightful Meadows, they discovered twelve *Indians*, who were coming in search of *Hernan Cortes*, with a Present of Hens, and Bread made of *Indian* Corn, sent him by the Cazique of *Zempoala*, very earnestly intreating him not to fail of coming to his Town, where he had provided Quarters for his Men, and where he should be more plentifully entertained. By these *Indians* he understood that the Cazique's Residence was at a Town one Sun's Distance from that Place, which, in their Language, signified the same as one Day's March;

March; for they understood not the Division of Leagues, but measured Distance by Stuns, counting the Time, and not the Paces. *Cortes* dismiss'd six of the *Indians* with many Thanks for the Present and Offers, keeping the other six to shew him the Way, and ask them some Questions; for he was not entirely satisfied of the Sincerity of this kind Treatment, which being so much unlooked for, seemed the less to be depended on.

THAT Night they halted in a small Village thin of Inhabitants, who seemed very desirous to entertain the *Spaniards* well: And by the Behaviour of these People, the *Spaniards* judged that their Nation was inclined to Peace; nor were they deceived in their Conjectures, tho' Hope is wont to be easily flatter'd. In the Morning the Army moved towards *Zempoala*, following the Guides with all necessary Caution; and at the Declining of the Day (being now near the Town) there came twenty *Indians* forth to receive *Cortes*, well dressed after their Fashion; who, after having pay'd their Respects, said, "That their Cazique did
 " not come out with them, by reason of
 " some Impediment, but had sent them to
 " pay that Respect on his Part, being very
 " desirous to be acquainted with such valiant
 " Guests, and to receive into his Friendship
 " those whom he already held in his Esteem."

THE Town was large, and of a beautiful Prospect, situated between two Rivers, which fertilized the Country, descending from some Moun-

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Mountains at a small Distance, which were covered with Trees, and of an easy Ascent. The Buildings were of Stone, cover'd, or adorn'd with a sort of Lime, very white and shining, and made a pleasing and noble View at a Distance, insomuch that one of the Scouts, who was sent before, return'd in Haste, crying aloud, That the Walls were of Silver; which Mistake made much Sport in the Army, and, perhaps, some did then believe it, who afterwards made a Jest of his Credulity.

THE Squares and Streets were filled with an innumerable Company of People, who came to see the Entry, without any Arms that could give the least Suspicion, or any other Noise than that which usually proceeds from a Multitude. The Cazique came out to the Gate of his Palace; and his Impediment was a monstrous Fatness, which oppress'd and disfigured him. He drew near with some Difficulty, supported by the Arms of some noble *Indians*, to whom he seem'd to owe all his Motion. His Habit was a Mantle of fine Cotton thrown over his naked Body, enriched with various Jewels and Pendants, which also he wore in his Ears and Lips: A Prince of a very extraordinary Make, in whom Weight and Gravity agreed notably well. It was necessary for *Cortes* to put a Stop to the Laughing of the Soldiers; and as he had Occasion to put a Restraint upon himself, he gave the Order with a forced Severity. But as soon as the Cazique began his Discourse, receiving
Cortes

Cortes with his Arms, and welcoming the rest of the Captains, he shewed his good Sense, and by the Ears gained the Respect of the Eyes. He spoke to the Purpose, and shortened his Compliments with Respect and Discretion, bidding *Cortes* retire to Rest after his Journey, and quarter his Men; after which he would visit him in his Quarters, and talk more at Leisure about their common Interests.

HE had provided Quarters in square Courts, which had many great Chambers, where they were all accommodated with sufficient Room, and plentifully furnish'd with all they had Occasion for. After which the Cazique made way for his Visit, by sending a Present of Jewels of Gold, and other Curiosities, to the Value of about two thousand Peso's, and soon after came himself, with a splendid Attendance, in a Chair carried on the Shoulders of the Chief of his Family; and at that Time, it is likely, the strongest had that Honour. *Cortes* went forth to receive him, attended by his Captains; and giving him the Precedence, and the Right Hand, retired with him and his Interpreters; for he thought it convenient to talk to him without Witnesses. After having made him the usual Speech, about the Intent of his Coming, the Grandeur of his King, and the Errors of Idolatry, he proceeded to tell him, " That one of the Designs of those valiant Troops was to redress Wrongs, punish Violence, and to take Part
" with

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“ with Justice and Reason.” He touch’d upon that Point on purpose to draw him in, by Degrees, to complain of *Moteczuma*, and to discover what Advantages might be expected from his Resentments and Indignation, of which he had been before inform’d. It presently appear’d, by the Change of his Countenance, that *Cortes* had touched the Sore; and before he resolv’d on an Answer, he began to sigh, as one who found a Difficulty in making his Complaints; but at length, his Resentment prevailing, he broke out into Lamentations of his Unhappiness, and told him, “ That all the “ Caziques of the neighbouring Countries, “ were under a miserable and shameful Slavery, “ groaning under the Oppressions and Tyrannies of *Moteczuma*, without sufficient “ Force to free themselves, or Courage to “ think on a Remedy; that he caused himself “ to be served and adored by his Subjects like “ one of his Gods; and would have his Violencies and Injuries revered like the Decrees of Heaven: But that it was not his Design to engage him in adventuring to support them, because *Moteczuma* was too powerful “ and strong for him to resolve (on so slight an “ Obligation) to declare himself his Enemy; “ nor would it be agreeable to the Laws of “ Civility, to pretend to his Friendship, by “ selling at so great a Price the small Service “ he had done him.”

HERNAN CORTES endeavoured to comfort him, letting him know, “ That he should

“ little regard *Motezuma's* Power, having
 “ Heaven on his side, and a natural Predo-
 “ minancy over Tyrants; but that he was
 “ obliged to pass on to *Quiabistan*, where
 “ the Oppressed and Needy should find him,
 “ and all who, having Reason on their side,
 “ stood in need of his Arms; which he might
 “ communicate to his Friends and Confede-
 “ rates; assuring them all, that *Motezuma*
 “ wou'd cease to oppress them, or should not
 “ be able to do it, while he undertook their
 “ Defence.” With this they both took Leave,
 and *Hernan Cortes* prepared for his March,
 having gained the good Will of that Cazique,
 and being extremely well pleased within him-
 self at the better Prospect of his Designs,
 which from being only distant Views of the
 Imagination, began now to appear possible.

C H A P. IX.

*The Spaniards pursue their March from Zem-
 poala to Quiabistan. An Account of what
 passed at their Entrance into that Town;
 where they have fresh Accounts of the
 Uneasiness of those Provinces; and they
 take six of Motezuma's Officers.*

WHEN the Army was ready to march,
 they found four hundred *Indians* of
 Burden provided to carry their Cloak-Bags
 and Provisions, and to help to conduct the
 Artillery;

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Artillery; which was a very great Ease to the Soldiers, and was look'd upon as an extraordinary Respect of the Cazique, till they understood from *Donna Marina*, that among those Lords of Vassals, it was a common Practice to assist the Armies of their Allies with that sort of human Baggage-Carriers, which in their Language they called *Tamenes*, who were wont to travel five or six Leagues with two or three Arobas, that is, with half or three Quarters of an hundred Weight. The Country they were entering upon, was pleasant and delightful, Part of it covered with great Trees, and the rest cultivated with Grain; at which Sight, the *Spaniards* went on cheerful and diverted, rejoicing at their good Fortune in marching over so plentiful a Country. At the Setting of the Sun, they found themselves near a little Village, unpeopled, where they staid to avoid the Inconveniency of entering *Quiabitslan* by Night, at which they arrived the next Day by Ten in the Morning.

THE Buildings appeared at a large Distance on an Eminence of Rocks, which seemed to serve instead of a Wall; a Situation naturally strong, the Avenues narrow, and steep, which they found without Defence, yet they entered with Difficulty. The Cazique had retired with the Inhabitants, to discover at a Distance the Intentions of our People; and the Troops took Possession of the Town, without finding any Person from whom they could get the least Information, till coming to a Square,

where the *Indians* had their Temples, there came out fourteen or fifteen *Indians* to meet them, handsomely dressed after their Manner, with Abundance of Cringes and Perfumes, continuing their Civilities for some Time, with an affected Security and Civility, endeavouring to cover their Fear with Respect; Affections of the Mind, which are pretty much alike in Appearance, and hard to be distinguished. *Hernan Cortes* encouraged them by his Carresses, and gave them some Beads of blue and green Glass; a sort of Coin, which, for the Effects it had, began to be valued even among those who were acquainted with it. With which good Treatment, they recovered from the Fright which they had dissembled, and gave him to understand, “ That their Cazique had
 “ withdrawn himself to avoid beginning a
 “ War, by putting himself on his Defence,
 “ or adventuring his Person, by trusting to
 “ armed Troops which he did not know; and
 “ with such an Example, it was impossible
 “ to hinder the Flight of the Inhabitants, who
 “ were under less Obligations to run them-
 “ selves into Danger; an Action to which
 “ they had offered themselves, as being People
 “ of better Fashion and greater Boldness: But
 “ that as soon as the rest should be sensible of
 “ the Goodness of such honourable Guests,
 “ they would immediately return to their
 “ Houses, and account it a very great Happiness to serve and obey them.” *Hernan Cortes* gave them fresh Assurances; and whilst they

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they were gone with this News, he gave strict Orders to the Soldiers to treat the *Indians* well; who very soon shewed the Confidence they had in the *Spaniards*; for that very Night some Families returned, and in a little Time the Town was filled with its Inhabitants.

SOME Time after, the Cazique returned, bringing with him the Cazique of *Zempoala* to befriend him. They both came in Litters on the Shoulders of Men. He of *Zempoala*, made a handsome Excuse for his Neighbour; and after some short Discourse, they themselves introduced their Complaints of *Moteczuma*, recounting, with great Warmth, and sometimes with Tears, his Tyrannies and Cruelties, the Misery of their People, and Despair of their Nobles; to which the Cazique of *Zempoala* added, as the utmost Aggravation; "This
" Monster is so proud and fierce, that besides
" his impoverishing us by his Tributes, and
" raising his Wealth out of our Calamities,
" he likewise invades the Houses of his Sub-
" jects, taking forcibly from us both our Wives
" and Daughters, staining with their Blood the
" Altars of his Gods, after having sacrificed
" them first to other Uses more cruel and
" less honest."

HERNAN CORTES endeavoured to comfort and dispose them for entering into a Confederacy with him; but at the Time that he was enquiring into their Strength, and the Number of People that would take Arms in Defence of their Liberty, two or three *In-*

dians came in, who seemed in a very great Fright; and whispering the *Caziques* in the Ears, put them into such Confusion, that they rose up, losing both Courage and Colour, and went hastily away, without so much as taking Leave, or making an end of their Discourse. The Cause of their Disorder was presently known; for six Officers, or Royal Commissaries, such as went about the Kingdom to gather *Motezuma's* Tributes, were seen passing before the *Spaniards* Quarters. They were adorned with Abundance of Feathers, and Pendants of Gold on fine clean Cotton Cloths, with a sufficient Number of Servants and inferior Officers, who moving great Fans, made of Feathers, fann'd their Masters to cool them, or officiously shaded them from the Sun, as Occasion required. *Cortes* went out to the Gate with his Captains to see them; and they passed on, without paying him any Respect, and with Countenances that shewed Indignation and Contempt; which Pride provoked some of the Soldiers so much, that they would have chastised them, had they not been withheld by *Cortes*, who rested satisfied at that Time with sending *Donna Marina*, with a sufficient Guard, to inform herself of what they were doing.

By this Means it was understood, that after having seated themselves in the Town-House, they summoned the *Caziques* to appear before them, and reprimanded them publickly, and very sharply, for their Boldness in admitting Strangers

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Strangers into their Town, who were Enemies to their King; and therefore, besides the ordinary Service, to which they were obliged, they demanded twenty *Indians* to sacrifice to their Gods, as a Satisfaction and Atonement for such a Crime.

HERNAN CORTES sent for the two Caziques by some Soldiers, who had Orders, without any Noise, to bring them to his Presence; when letting them know that he saw into their most hidden Designs, (the better to authorize his Proposal by this Mystery) he told them, "That he was well acquainted
" with the Violence of those Commissaries,
" who, without any other Crime than their
" having admitted his Troops, endeavoured
" to impose on them new Tributes of human
" Blood; that it was no Time then for such
" Abominations, nor would he suffer them
" to obey such horrid Commands in his Presence; but, on the contrary, he ordered
" them, without fail, to call their People
" about them, and seize the Commissaries,
" and leave him to maintain what they had
" done by his Advice."

THE Caziques were at a stand, refusing to execute such a bold Command, as being grown mean-spirited by constant Use of enduring the Smart, and even honouring the Rod: But *Hernan Cortes* repeated his Order with so much Resolution, that they immediately went to execute it; and with great Applause of the *Indians*, they seized the Ministers of *Mote-*

zuma, whom they put in a kind of Pillories used in their Prisons, and very incommodious; for they held the Delinquents by the Neck, obliging them continually to do their utmost with their Shoulders to ease the Weight, for the Freedom of breathing. It was very pleasant to see how proud and elevated the *Caziques* returned to give an Account of their noble Action; for they thought to execute them the same Day, and make them suffer the Punishments assigned by their Laws to Traytors; and seeing that would not be permitted, they desired at least to sacrifice them to their Gods, as if it were a kind of Grace.

THE Prisoners being secured with a sufficient Number of *Spanish* Soldiers, *Hernan Cortes* retired to his Quarters, and began to consider within himself, what was to be done in order to disentangle himself from the Difficulty he was in, by having promised to protect and defend the *Caziques* from the Danger that threatened them for having obeyed him; for he was not willing absolutely to break with *Moteczuma*, but still to keep him in Suspence. He did not altogether approve the taking up Arms in Defence of Subjects complaining against their King, nor the laying aside his Designs of Peace, without new Provocation, or a better Pretence. On the other hand, he considered it as a very necessary Point, to maintain that Party which was beginning to form, that he might have their Assistance in case he should happen to want them. In fine, he held it

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most convenient to manage with *Moteczuma*, by making a Merit of suspending the Effects of that Disrespect, and shewing, that at least he would so far discharge himself, as not to foment the Sedition, or draw any Advantage from it to himself, until the last Necessity.

THE Result of these Reflections (which kept him some Hours awake) was, to send at Midnight for two of the Prisoners with all possible Privacy: And after receiving them courteously, he told them, (as one desirous they should not attribute to him what they had suffered) "That he had sent for them in order to set them at Liberty; and that as they received it solely from his Hands, they might assure their Prince, he would endeavour very shortly to send the rest of their Companions who remained in the Power of the Caziques, whom he would endeavour to make sensible of their Fault, and perform all that should be most for his Service; for that he was desirous of Peace, and to deserve, by his Respect and Actions, all the Marks of Civility that were due to the Ambassador and Minister of so great a Prince." The *Indians* durst not set out on their Journey, for fear of being killed, or taken by the Way; and he was forced to give them a Guard of *Spanish* Soldiers, who conveyed them to the next Bay, where the Ships lay, and one of the Boats was ordered to land them beyond the District of *Zempoala*.

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THE Caziques came in the Morning much frightened and troubled for the Escape of the two Prisoners; and *Hernan Cortes* received the News with Signs of Surprise and Concern, blaming their Want of Vigilance; and upon this Pretence he ordered in their Presence, that the rest should be carried on board the Fleet, as desiring to take upon himself the Care of their Imprisonment; but he privately ordered the Sea-Officers to treat them well, and to keep them satisfied and safe; by which he gained the Confidence of the Caziques, without disobliging *Moteczuma*, whose Power, so much cried up and dreaded among those *Indians*, made him careful how he acted. After this Manner he endeavoured to provide for every thing, keeping up the discontented Party, without engaging himself too far in it, yet still preserving in View all Accidents which might oblige him to close with it. A great Master in adjusting his Measures to his Suspicions. And he is a prudent General; who knows how to provide beforehand against Accidents, and, by Foresight, to lessen the Force or Surprise of those Difficulties he meets with,

C H A P. X.

The Caziques of the Mountains come to submit, and offer their Service to Cortes. The Spaniards build the Town of Vera Cruz, and put it in a Posture of Defence. New Ambassadors arrive there from Motezuma.

THE Benignity and good Behaviour of the *Spaniards* towards their Allies, was quickly divulged thro' all the Districts thereabouts; and the two Caziques of *Zempoala* and *Quiabislan* gave Notice to all their Friends and Confederates of the Happiness they enjoyed, being freed from Impositions, and their Liberty secured by the Protection of a People invincible, who knew the very Thoughts of Men, and seemed of a superior Nature. The Report spread, and (as is usual) was improv'd by Fame, which always adds to the Truth, or confounds it with Exaggerations. It was said publicly among those People, that their Gods were come down to *Quiabislan*, darting Lightning against *Motezuma*; the which Credulity lasted some Time among the *Indians*, and caused a Veneration, tho' ill founded, which very much facilitated the Beginnings of this Conquest. Nor were they altogether wide of the Truth, in esteeming those sent from Heaven, who by its Decree and Appointment, came to be the Instruments of their Salvation:

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A Notion proceeding from their Ignorance, in which there might be some Mixture of a superior Light, dispensed in Favour of their Sincerity.

THIS Opinion of the *Spaniards* did so increase, and the Name of Liberty sounded so well in the Ears of the Oppressed, that in a few Days there came to *Quiabistan* above thirty Caziques, Lords of the Mountain that was in sight, which had numerous Settlements of *Indians*, called *Totonagues*, a rustick People, of different Languages and Customs, but strong, and valuing themselves upon their Courage. They all paid their Obedience, offered their Troops, and, in the Form proposed to them, swore Fidelity and Vassalage to the King of *Spain*, of which a solemn Act was made before the Secretary of the Council. *Antonio de Herrera* says, that the Troops offered by those Caziques, exceeded the Number of a hundred thousand Men. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, doth not reckon them; nor were they ever listed. The Number, it is likely, was very great, the Settlements being many, and the People easily stirred up against *Moteczuma*, especially, for that the Mountainous Country consisted of Warlike *Indians*, lately subdu'd, or not quite conquered.

THIS kind of Confederacy being made, the Caziques returned to their Houses, ready to do as they should be commanded; and *Hernan Cortes* resolved to settle the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, which, till then moved with

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with the Army, tho' observing its proper Distinctions as a Republick. They pitched upon the Plain between Sea the and *Quiabistan*, half a League from that Town; a Land which invited them with its Fertility, abounding in Water, and having great Plenty of Trees, which lay commodious for the Cutting of Timber for the Buildings. They laid the Foundations, beginning with the Church. The handicraft Men were distributed, Carpenters and Masons, who came with Soldiers Pay; and the *Indians* of *Zempoala* and *Quiabistan* assisting with equal Skill and Activity, the Houses began to rise; mean as to Architecture, rather for a Covering, than any Commodiousness. They presently drew the Compass of the Wall with Traverses of strong Mud-Work, a sufficient Defence against the Weapons of the *Indians*; and in that Country it might be properly called a Fortrefs. The principal Officers of the Army help'd to carry on the Work, applying both their Hands and Shoulders to it; and *Hernan Cortes* work'd as the rest, seeming to set himself a Task, not satisfied with the scanty Diligence which is sufficient in a Superior to set a good Example.

IN the mean time they received at *Mexico* the first Advice of the *Spaniards* being received in *Zempoala* by that Cazique, a Man, in their Opinion, of suspected Fidelity, and the neighbouring Places little to be depended on: Which Account so provoked *Moteczuma*, that he proposed to draw together his Forces, and march
out

out in Person to chastise this Offence of the *Zempoalans*, and put the rest of the Mountain Nations under his Yoke; taking the *Spaniards* alive, whom he had already in his Imagination destined for a solemn Sacrifice to his Gods.

BUT at the same Time that he began to make great Preparations for this Enterprize, the two *Indians*, whom *Cortes* had dispatched from *Quiabitslan*, arrived at *Mexico*, and gave an Account of their Imprisonment; and that they owed their Liberty to the Captain of the Strangers, who had sent them to represent how much he desired Peace, and how far it was from his Intentions to do him any Disservice; extolling his Courtesy and Mildness so much, that it might be perceived by the Praises they gave *Cortes*, how much they had feared the *Caziques*.

UPON this the Face of Affairs was changed: The Anger of *Moteczuma* was mitigated; Preparations for War ceased, and he determined again to try the Way of Negotiation, endeavouring to divert *Cortes* from his Designs with a new Embassy and Present, to which Measures he easily inclined; for in the midst of his Anger and Pride, he could not forget the Signals of Heaven, and the Answers of his Idols, which he looked on as evil Omens of his Undertaking, or at least, they obliged him to delay the Breach; endeavouring to qualify his Fear after such a Manner, that it should be taken for Prudence, by Men, and for Respect, by his Gods.

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THIS Embassy arrived when they had almost perfected the new Settlement and Forts of *Vera Cruz*. With the Embassy came two Youths, Nephews to *Moteczuma*, attended by four ancient Caziques who assisted them as Counsellors, and added to their Authority by the Respect they paid them. The Attendance was splendid; and they brought a Present of Gold, Feathers, and Cotton, worth about two thousand Pieces of Eight. The Message the Ambassadors delivered, was, "That the great Emperor *Moteczuma*, having been informed of the Disobedience of those Caziques, and their Insolence in taking and misusing his Officers, had provided a powerful Army, to come in Person to chastise them; but had suspended the Execution of his Purpose, that he might not be obliged to break with the *Spaniards*, whose Friendship he desired, and whose Captain he was obliged to esteem, and acknowledge the Respect he had shewn in sending him his two Servants, whom he had released from so cruel an Imprisonment. But that tho' he durst entirely rely upon him for restoring likewise their Companions to Liberty, yet he could not but complain in a friendly Manner, that so valiant and wise a Man should think fit to live among his Rebels, making them more insolent under the Shelter of his Arms: And as the making of Traytors bold, was little less than approving the Treason, he did request him, upon that Consideration,

" immediately

“ immediately to leave that Country, that he
 “ might punish them without Breach of his
 “ Friendship. And with the same Sincerity
 “ of Heart, he admonished him not to think
 “ of passing on to his Court; for that the Im-
 “ pediments and Dangers of that Journey were
 “ very great.” On which last Article they
 enlarged with a mysterious Tedioufness, this
 being the principal Point of their Instructions.

HERNAN CORTES received the Embally
 and Present with great Respect; and before he
 returned his Answer, he ordered the four im-
 prisoned Officers to come in, whom he had
 purposely sent for from on board the Fleet;
 and, gaining the good Will of the Ambassa-
 dors, by delivering them up, well treated and
 thankful, he told them, “ That the Error
 “ committed by the Caziques of *Zempoala*
 “ and *Quiabistan*, was amended by the Resti-
 “ tution of those Officers; and that he was
 “ highly pleased with the Opportunity of shew-
 “ ing his Respect by that Action, and giving
 “ *Motezuma* that first Proof of his Obedience:
 “ That he could not but own the Insolence of
 “ that Imprisonment, tho’ it might in some
 “ measure be excused by the Extravagancy of
 “ the Officers themselves, who, not content
 “ with the ordinary Tributes due to the Crown,
 “ had of their own Authority demanded twenty
 “ *Indians* for their Sacrifices; a cruel Propo-
 “ sition, and an Abuse which the *Spaniards*
 “ could not suffer, being bred in another Re-
 “ ligion of greater Piety and Regard to human
 “ Nature:

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Nature: That he found himself obliged to those Caziques for admitting and entertaining him in their Territories, when his Governors *Tentile* and *Pilpatoe* discourteously abandon'd him, failing in Point of Hospitality, and the Law of Nations; an Action done without *Moteczuma's* Orders, and which would be displeasing to him, or at least, he was willing so to think; because having nothing but Peace in view, he did not desire to aggravate Matters by his Complaints: That neither that Country, nor the *Totonaque* Mountainiers, would move to his Disservice, neither would he permit it; for the Caziques were at his Devotion, and would not transgress his Orders; for which Reason he was obliged to intercede for them, that he would pardon their Disobedience to his Officers, in having admitted and lodged his Troops: That for the rest he could only say, that when he should be so happy as to appear in his Presence, he would make known the Importance of his Embassy, and that in the mean time he had no Regard to the Impediments and Dangers which threaten'd him; for that the *Spaniards* were unacquainted with Fear, and Obstacles only induc'd them to go on, being a People enured to Dangers, and used to seek for Glory amidst the greatest Difficulties."

WITH this short and resolute Speech (in which the Constancy of *Hernan Cortes* is to

be observed, and the Art with which he endeavoured to raise their Idea of his Designs he answer'd the Ambassadors, who departed much caress'd, and rich in *Castilian* Trifles carrying for their King, as a Present, another Treasure of the same kind.

It was observed, that the Ambassadors went away dissatisfied for not having obtain'd the Retreat of the *Spaniards*, which was the Point all their Endeavours tended to. The *Spaniards* gain'd much Reputation among those Nations by this Embassy; for the *Indians* were now confirm'd in their Opinion, that *Hernan Cortes* must be some Deity, and none of the least powerful, since *Motezuma* (whose Pride disdain'd to bend his Knee in the Presence of his Gods) fought him with so much Submission, and solicited his Friendship with Gifts, which, in their Opinion, were little less than Sacrifices; the Effect of which Extravagancy was, that they lost great Part of the Fear which they had for their King, giving themselves up with greater Subjection to the Obedience of the *Spaniards*: And no less than such Dotage was necessary, that a Work so wonderful, and undertaken with so small a Force, might be made practicable, the Most High permitting these Things, that it might not appear wholly a Miracle, or lie under the Imputation of Temerity.

C H A P. XI.

The Zempoalans, by Deceit, engage Hernan Cortes to take up Arms against the People of Zimpazingo, their Enemies. He makes them Friends, and reduces that Country.

SOON after, the Cazique of *Zempoala* came to *Vera Cruz*, with some principal *Indians*, whom he brought as Witnesses of what he intended to propose. He told *Hernan Cortes*, "That now the Time was come to protect and defend his Country; for that some Troops of the *Mexicans* were arrived in *Zimpazingo*, (a Place of Strength, distant from thence about two Suns) and went out to over-run the Country, destroying the Corn-Fields, and committing some Hostilities in his District, with which, it seemed, they were beginning their Revenge." *Hernan Cortes* found himself engaged to support the *Zempoalans*, to maintain the Credit of his Offers; and besides, he thought it would not be right to suffer that Insolence of the *Mexicans*, as it were, in his Sight; and that in case they were some advanced Troops of *Moteczuma's* Army, it would be necessary to strike a Terror into them, to discourage the rest of his People. For which Purpose he determined to march in Person upon this Undertaking: engaging in it some

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what too hastily ; for he was yet unacquainted with the Deceits and Lyes of those People (a capital Vice among the *Indians*) and suffered himself to be carried away by Probability without examining into the Truth. He ordered them to march out immediately with his Troops, to chastise those Enemies, who disturb'd the Peace of his Allies ; and ordering them to provide *Indians* of Burden for the Baggage and Artillery, he made a Disposition immediately for his March, and took the Road of *Zimpazingo*, with four hundred Men, leaving the rest in the Fortress of *Vera Cruz*.

As he passed by *Zempoala*, he found two thousand armed *Indians*, whom the Cazique had provided to serve under him in that Expedition, divided into four Bodies, or Commands, with their Captains, Colours, and Arms, according to the Custom of their Militia. *Hernan Cortes* thanked him very much for the Care he took to provide that Succour, and tho' he let him understand, that he had no Occasion for his Men upon an Expedition of so small Importance, yet he suffered them to go, to provide against all Events, but as if he had done it only to let them share in the Glory of the Success.

THAT Night they lodged in some Houses three Leagues from *Zimpazingo* ; and the next Day a little before Three in the Afternoon, they discovered the Town on the Top of a small Hill, a Branch of the Mountain, among

among great Rocks, which hid Part of the Buildings, and threaten'd at a Distance, with the Difficulty of the Way. The *Spaniards* began to overcome the Craggedness of the Mountain, but not without considerable Trouble; for being jealous of an Ambush, they went Doubling, and filing off as the Ground would permit; but the *Zempoalans*, either more dextrous, or less embarass'd by the Narrowness of the Paths, advanced with a sort of Fury which appeared like Valour, but was indeed Revenge, and a thievish Temper. *Hernan Cortes* was obliged to give Orders to halt, at a Time when some Troops of the Vanguard were already in the Town.

He held on his March, without meeting any Resistance; and just as he was preparing to attack the Town in several Parts, there came out of it eight antient Priests, who asked for the Captain of that Army, before whose Presence they came with great Submissions, pronouncing some Words in an humble and pitiful Manner, such as sufficiently shewed Submission, without the Help of an Interpreter. Their Dress was a black Mantle, whose End reached the Ground, and the upper Part was gathered and plaited about the Neck, with a Piece hanging loose, in Form of a Hood, with which they kept their Heads warm. Their Hair reached to their Shoulders, dashed and clodded with the human Blood of their Sacrifices, Marks of which they superstitiously preserv'd on their Faces and Hands;

for it was not lawful for them to wash themselves; fit Ministers of such unclean Gods whose Filth shewed itself in this and other Deformities.

THEY began their Speech by asking Cortes
 “ By what Resistance or Offence the poor In-
 “ habitants had merited the Indignation or
 “ Chastisement of a People, already so much
 “ famed in the Countries thereabouts for
 “ Clemency and Goodness?” He answered,
 “ That he did not design to offend the Inha-
 “ bitants of the Town, but only chastise the
 “ *Mexicans*, who were quartered in it, and
 “ sallied from thence to infest the Territories
 “ of his Friends.” To which they replied,
 “ That the *Mexican* Troops, which had been
 “ garisoned in *Zimpazingo*, were retired, fly-
 “ ing further up the Country, as soon as they
 “ heard that *Moteczuma's* Officers were im-
 “ prisoned at *Quiabislan*; and that if his De-
 “ sign was against them, through the Influ-
 “ ence or Suggestion of those *Indians* that
 “ accompanied him, he was to understand,
 “ that the *Zempoalans* were their Enemies,
 “ and had deceived him, feigning those In-
 “ roads of the *Mexicans* to destroy them,
 “ and make him the Instrument of their Re-
 “ venge.”

By the Confusion and frivolous Excuses of
 the *Zempoalan* Captains themselves, it ap-
 peared that those Priests spoke Truth; and
Hernan Cortes was concerned at the Deceit,
 as a Reflection upon his Arms, being vexed at
 the

the same Time at the Malice of the *Indians*, and his own Simplicity; but considering what was most proper to be done upon this Occasion, he presently ordered the Captains *Christoval de Olid* and *Pedro de Alvarado* to go with their Companies, and gather the *Indians* together, who had advanced before to get into the Town, and were now busy in the Pillage, and had taken a considerable Quantity of Cloaths and Furniture, and already bound some Prisoners. They were brought to the Army, shamefully loaded with what they had robbed, and the miserable plundered People following them, crying out for their Goods: For whose Satisfaction and Comfort *Hernan Cortes* commanded to unbind the Prisoners, and deliver up the Goods to the Priests, that they might restore them to the proper Owners; and calling for the *Zempoalan* Captains, reprov'd them publickly for their Presumption, in very angry Terms, telling them, they had incurred the Penalty of Death for their Offence, in obliging him to march his Troops only to compass their Revenge; and causing himself to be entreated by the *Spanish* Captains, whom he had instructed before to pacify him, he pardoned them for that Time, enlarging upon that Action of his Clemency; tho', in Truth, he did not then dare to chastise them with the Rigour they deserved, knowing well, that to preserve new-acquired Friends, Clemency was more proper than Justice.

HAVING done this, which gave him a Reputation with both the Nations, he commanded the *Zempoalans* to lodge without the Town, and he marched in with the *Spaniards*, where he was received with the Applause of a Deliverer. Immediately the Cazique of *Zimpazingo* visited him in his Lodging, with others of the Neighbourhood, who came either out of Friendship or Obedience, acknowledging the King of *Spain* for their Prince, whose Name was already beloved and revered in that Country, where the People desired to be his Subjects out of Hatred to *Moteczuma*.

HE afterwards took in hand the adjusting of the Differences between those *Indians* and the *Zempoalans*; which began about the Division of their Districts, first between the Caziques, and had now occasion'd such a Rancour among the People, that they lived in continual Hostility. To which End, he drew up a Scheme for compounding their Differences; and taking upon himself to content the Lord of *Zempoala*, made them Friends, and returned to *Vera Cruz*, leaving his Interest advanced by the Obedience of new Caziques, and a Friendship established among those of his Party, whose Disagreement might have been a Hindrance to his receiving any Service from them: so that he made his Advantage, and found his Conveniency even in that ill-concerted Enterprize; such happy Fruits of Error serving to undeceive human Prudence,

dence, whose Designs, for the most part, prove abortive, and end in their very first Conceptions.

C H A P. XII.

The Spaniards return to Zempoala; where they overthrow the Idols, with some Resistance of the Indians: And the principal of their Temples is converted into a Church of our Lady.

THE Cazique of *Zempoala* waited for *Cortes* at some Houses a little distant from the Town, with great Store of Provisions, to refresh his Men; but much ashamed and troubled, that his Deceit was discovered. He was going to excuse himself; but *Cortes* did not permit it, telling him, “ He had laid aside his Displeasure, and desired an Amendment for the future, which was the only Satisfaction of pardoned Crimes.” They passed on directly to the Town, where he had provided a second Present of Eight Virgins finely adorn’d: One of them was his Niece; and he brought her on Purpose that *Hernan Cortes* might do him the Honour to take her for his Wife, the rest to be distributed among his Captains, as he should think fit; making this Offer as one desirous to strengthen the Friendship between them by the Bonds of Blood. *Cortes* answer’d, “ That he very
“ much

" much esteem'd that Testimony of his Good-
 " Will and Sincerity; but that it was not
 " lawful for the *Spaniards* to take Wives of
 " a different Religion; for which Reason, he
 " suspended the receiving them until such
 " Time as they became Christians." Upon
 this Occasion he pressed him again to quit his
 Idolatry, for that he could not be his true
 Friend, who differ'd so much from him in the
 most essential Point; and as he believed him a
 Man of Reason, he undertook, with some
 Hopes, to convince and reduce him. But the
 Cazique was so far from opening his Eyes, or
 being sensible of the Force of Truth, that pre-
 suming on the Opinion he had of his own
 Understanding, he undertook to argue in De-
 fence of his Gods; and *Hernan Cortes*, suffer-
 ing himself to be carry'd away by his Zeal for
 Religion, grew offended, and turned his Back
 upon him with some sort of Passion.

At this Time happen'd one of the most so-
 lemn Festivals of their Idols; and the *Zem-
 poalans* assembled (not without some Circum-
 spection on account of the *Spaniards*) in the
 principal of their Temples, where they cele-
 brated a Sacrifice of Human Blood, which hor-
 rible Function was performed by the Hands of
 the Priests, with the Ceremonies, which will
 be related in their proper Place. Afterwards
 those unhappy Victims were sold cut out in
 Pieces, which were sought after, and bought
 as sacred Food: An abominable Brutality in
 the Taste, and a much worse in their Devotion.

tion. Some *Spaniards* happen'd to see Part of this Slaughter; who came and told *Cortes* how much they were scandalized; and he was so highly provok'd at it, that the pious Disturbance of his Mind immediately appear'd on his Countenance. The Motives which obliged him to keep Measures with those Confederates, gave way to a greater Cause; and as Anger has its first Fury, even when supported by Reason, he broke out into Threats, commanding his Soldiers to take Arms, and call the *Cazique* and the principal *Indians* which used to attend him. As soon as they came into his Presence, he went with them to the Temple, causing his Troops to march in Order with him.

THE Priests, who were jealous of the Event, came out to the Gate, and with loud Cries, began to call the People to the Defence of their Gods; at which Time some Troops of armed *Indians* appear'd; which, as it was afterwards known, those very Priests had provided: For they feared some Violence, believing their Sacrifice, so much abhorred by the *Spaniards*, had been discovered. The Number of the *Indians* who had possessed themselves of the Avenues, was considerable; but *Hernan Cortes* (always present to himself on such Occasions) ordered *Donna Marina* to tell them aloud, "That upon the first Arrow they should let fly, he would cause the Throats of the *Cazique*, and all the *Zem-poalans* in his Power, to be immediately
" cut,

“cut, and afterwards permit his Soldiers to
 “chastise their Insolence with Fire and Sword.”
 The *Indians* trembled at the Terror of such
 a Threat; and the Cazique quaking like the
 rest, commanded them to lay down their Arms
 and retire; which Command they immediately
 obeyed, shewing in the Readiness with
 which they disappeared, how much they de-
 sired their Fear should pass for Obedience.

HERNAN CORTES remained with the Ca-
 zique, and those who attended him; and call-
 ing for the Priests, declaimed against Idolatry
 with more than Military Eloquence. He en-
 couraged them, that they might not hearken
 to him with Fear: He endeavoured to make
 use of soft Expressions, that there might be
 no Appearance of Violence, where Reason
 was to speak: He lamented the Error in which
 they lived; and complained, that being his
 Friends, they should not give Credit to him in
 that which did most concern them: He told
 them how much he desired their Good; and
 from loving Expressions, which move the
 Heart, he proceeded to the Motives that affect
 the Understanding: He demonstrated to them
 their Errors; he set the Truth before their
 Eyes, as it were, in a visible Form: And lastly,
 told them, that he came fully resolv'd to de-
 stroy those Representations of the Devil; and
 that the Work would be most acceptable to
 him, if they themselves would execute it by
 their own Hands. To which End, he per-
 suaded and encouraged them to go up the
 Steps

Steps of the Temple, and overthrow their Idols: But they were so much concern'd at this Proposal, that they only answer'd with Sighs and Lamentations; till prostrating themselves on the Ground, they declar'd aloud, That they would sooner suffer themselves to be cut in Pieces, than lay Hands upon their Gods. *Hernan Cortes* would not insist too much on a Circumstance to which he found them so averse, and therefore order'd his Soldiers to put it in Execution: By whose Diligence the principal Idol, together with those on each side, were flung down from the Top of the Steps, and came to the Pavement all broke to Pieces, followed by their own Altars, and the detestable Instruments of their Adoration. Great was the Commotion and Astonishment of the *Indians*; they beheld each other, as expecting the Punishment of Heaven; and the same soon happen'd as at *Cozumel*; for seeing their Gods thus debased, without Power to revenge themselves, they laid aside all Fear, and became sensible of their Weakness; in the same Manner as the World, by the Ruin of Great Men, sees the Folly of that Worship it has paid them.

THE *Zempoalans* by this Experiment became more easy to be perswaded, and more submissive to the Orders of the *Spaniards*: For if before they consider'd them as Men of a superior Nature, they now found themselves obliged to confess, that they were more powerful than their Gods. *Hernan Cortes* finding how

how much his Authority was increased among them, commanded them to cleave the Temple; which Order was executed with so much Fervour and Chearfulness, that affecting to be undeceived, they flung into the Fire the Fragments of their Idols. The Cazique immediately order'd his Masons to scrape the Walls, wiping out the Stains of human Blood, which they preserv'd as an Ornament. After which they whiten'd them, laying on a Covering of that shining Mortar which they used in their Building; and they erected an Altar, on which was placed an Image of our Lady, with some ornamental Flowers and Lights; and the Day following, the holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated with all possible Solemnity, in Sight of abundance of *Indians*, who assisted at the Novelty, rather admiring than attentive; tho' some bent their Knees, and endeavour'd to imitate the Devotion of the *Spaniards*.

THERE was no Opportunity then to instruct them in the fundamental Principles of Religion, for their Barbarity required more Time; and the Intention of *Hernan Cortes* was to begin their Spiritual Conquest from the Court of *Motezuma*. But they remained inclin'd to despise their Idols, and well disposed to venerate the Image of the holy Virgin, offering to take her for their Advocate, that the God of the Christians might favour them, whose Power they were already sensible of by the Effects, and by some Glimmerings of natural Light, always sufficient to distinguish that which

which is best, and perceive the Force of those Helps with which God assists all reasonable Creatures.

AND here we must not omit the pious Resolution of an old Soldier, who staid alone among these People, as yet but imperfectly reduced, to take Care of that Image, crowning his old Age with this holy Service: His Name was *Juan de Torres*, a Native of the City of *Cordova*. An Action truly worthy of a Soldier, and which, at once records both his Valour and Piety.

C H A P. XIII.

The Army returns to Vera Cruz. Commissaries are dispatch'd to the King, with an Account of what had been done. Another Sedition is quell'd with the Punishment of some Mutineers. And Hernan Cortes executes his Resolution of sinking his Ships.

THE Spaniards departed immediately from *Zempoala* (which Place was afterwards called *New Sevil*); and when they came to *Vera Cruz*, there was just arrived at the Place where the Fleet lay at Anchor, a small Vessel, which came from the Isle of *Cuba*, commanded by Captain *Francisco de Saucedo*, Native of *Medino de Rio Seco*, and in Company with him Captain *Luis Marin*, who was afterwards in the same Station in the

the Conquest of *Mexico*. They brought with them ten Soldiers, one Horse, and one Mare, which was reckon'd at that Time a considerable Supply.

THE *Spanish* Writers have not acquainted us with the Intention of their Voyage; but it is most likely, that they left *Cuba* with a Design to seek out *Cortes*, and follow his Fortune; and of this the Readiness with which they joined his Troops, seems a strong Argument. By this Means it was known, that the Governor *Diego Velasquez*, continued to threaten *Hernan Cortes*; for by the Negotiation of one of his Chaplains, whom he had dispatched to the Court, for this and other Pretensions, he had obtained the Title of the King's Lieutenant of that Island, with a Power to make new Discoveries and Settlements; which Grace of the King's had made him inexorable, believing that this Addition to his Authority was a fresh Ground for his Complaints.

BUT *Hernan Cortes*, whose Thoughts were now employed in greater Affairs, received this News as a Matter of no Concern, tho' it somewhat hastened his Resolution of giving the King an Account of his Proceedings: For which End, he disposed Matters so, that the Town of *Vera Cruz* should write a Letter, laying at his Majesty's Feet this new Settlement, and giving a short Relation of the Success of his Expedition, the Provinces that were already reduced to his Obedience, with the Riches,

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Riches, Fertility, and great Plenty of this new World; the Progress he had made in favour of Religion; and the Dispositions that were making, in order to come at a true Knowledge of the Empire of *Moteczuma*. He very earnestly entreated the Members of the Council of *Vera Cruz*, That not omitting to take Notice of the Violences intended against him by *Diego Velasquez*, and the little Reason he had; they would lay before his Majesty at large, the great Valour and Constancy of the *Spaniards* with him; leaving them to speak of his own Person, as every one should think proper. It was not Modesty, but a Confidence in his own Merit, more than in any Words he could use, and a Desire that they should enlarge in his Praise; for no Man is displeas'd to hear his own Actions extoll'd, especially in this martial Profession, in which certain barefac'd Virtues are much in use, whose very Name is look'd upon as their Reward.

THE Letter was writ in the proper Form; the Conclusion whereof was to beseech his Majesty that he would grant *Hernan Cortes* a Commission of Captain-General, confirming That which he held from the Town and Troops, without any Dependence on *Diego Velasquez*. *Cortes* wrote to the same Purpose, speaking with more Assurance of the Hopes he had to bring that Empire to the Obedience of his Majesty, and of the Dispositions he was making to contend with the Power of *Moteczuma*, by the Help of his own revolted Subjects.

THE Dispatches being finished, they were committed to the Care of the Captains *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero*, and *Francisco de Montejo*; and it was agreed that they should carry the King all the Gold, valuable Jewels, and Curiosities they had acquired as well by the Presents of *Moteczuma*, as by Ransoms, and the Gifts of other Caziques; both Officers and Soldiers giving up their Shares, that the Present might be the greater. They also carried some *Indians*, (who voluntarily offered themselves for the Voyage) as the first Fruits of those new Subjects they were gaining to his Majesty; and *Hernan Cortes* sent a Present in particular to his Father *Martin Cortes*, a worthy Thought amidst the many Cares that lay heavy upon him. The best Ship in the Fleet was immediately fitted, and the Charge of the Sailing committed to the Care of the chief Pilot *Antonio de Alaminos*: And when the Day appointed for the Embarkation came, their happy Voyage was recommended to the divine Favour by a solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost. With this happy Auspice they set Sail the 16th of *July*, 1519, with positive Orders to steer their Coast directly for *Spain*, endeavouring to pass the Channel of *Bahama*, without touching at the Island of *Cuba*, where they ought to apprehend, as an evident Danger, the Snares of *Diego Velasquez*.

WHILST they were making Preparations for this Voyage, some Soldiers and Sailors (People of little Honour) raised new Disturbances, by
endea-

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endeavouring to make their Escape, and give notice to *Diego Velasquez* of the Dispatches and Riches sent to the King in the Name of *Cortes*; and their Intention was to go before with this Advice, that he might seize the Passes, and make Prize of the Ship: To which End, they had gained the Sailors of another Vessel, and had laid in Provisions of all Things necessary for their Voyage. But on the very Night design'd for their Flight, one of the Conspirators, called *Bernardino de Coria*, repented. He was going among the rest to embark; but taking a nearer View of the Foulness of his Crime, he privately step'd aside from his Companions, and went to inform the General. *Cortes* consulted presently how to remedy this Evil; and made his Dispositions with so much Secrecy and Diligence, that the Accomplices were all seized on board the same Vessel, without being able to deny their Crime; which he thought to deserve an exemplary Punishment, finding no longer any Security in his Clemency. They were soon brought to their Tryal, and two of the Soldiers, who had been the chief Promoters of the Contrivance, were adjudg'd to die; two others, this being the second Fault, to be whipp'd. The rest were pardoned, as drawn in, and deceived; a Pretence *Cortes* made use of, that he might not lose all who were guilty; tho' he ordered that the principal Mariner of the Ship destined for their Flight, should have one of his Feet cut off: An extraordinary Sentence,

tence, and upon this Occasion very necessary that the Crime which had deserved so severe a Chastisement, might not be forgot in Time. In such Cases the Memory stands in need of the Eyes; for it with Difficulty retains the Idea of that which is grievous to the Imagination.

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, and after him *Antonio de Herrera*, say, That the Licentiate *Juan Diaz* was guilty of this Crime; and that out of Respect to the Priesthood, he was not proceeded against as he deserved. That same Respect might have availed him against their Pens; especially, since it is certain that in a Letter *Hernan Cortes* wrote to the Emperor on the 30th of *October*, 1520 (for the which we are beholden to *Juan Baptista Ramus*, in his *Voyages*;) he makes no mention of this Priest, tho' he names all the Accomplices of this Sedition; so that either the Crime imputed to him is not true, or we have the same Reason not to believe it, as *Cortes* had to conceal it.

THE Day on which this Sentence was executed, *Cortes* went with some of his Friends to *Zempoala*, where he was disturb'd with various Thoughts. The Boldness of those Soldiers gave him much Uneasiness: He looked upon it as a Consequence of the past Disturbances, and a Spark of a Fire not quite put out: He was now to march forward with his Troops, and very probably he should be oblig'd to try his Strength with *Moteczuma*; a very unequal Dispute; and more especially with Men

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Men disunited and suspected. He thought of staying some Days among those Caziques his Friends; of employing his Troops in some lesser Enterprizes, and of making new Settlements for the strengthening of *Vera Cruz*: But in every thing he found Inconveniences; and from this Agitation of his Mind resulted an Action, which very much shewed the Greatness of his Soul; for he resolved to destroy his Fleet, and break up all the Vessels, that he might be secure of the Soldiers, and either conquer with them, or die; in which Determination he also found the Advantage of reinforcing his Army with above a hundred Men, who were employed as Pilots and Mariners. He communicated this Resolution to his Confidants, and by their Means (with some Gifts, and proper Secrecy) so disposed Matters, that the very Sailors themselves declared with one Voice, That the Ships would certainly founder by reason of the Damage they had sustain'd in that Road, and by the bad Quality of the Port. Upon which Information, the Orders which Cortes gave, seem'd no more than a necessary Care, That they should bring ashore their Sails, Tackling, and Iron, with such Planks as might be of Service, and sink all the great Vessels, reserving only Boats for Fishing: A Resolution deservedly applauded, as one of the greatest of this Conquest; and we know not whether a greater of the Kind can be found in all History.

JUSTIN relates of *Agathocles* that having landed his Army on the Coasts of *Africk*, he burnt his Vessels, to deprive his Soldiers of all Means of Flight.

POLIENUS celebrates the Memory of *T. marchus*, General of the *Etolians*, for his equal Boldness; and *Quintus Fabius Maximus* has left us, among his Military Stratagems, such another Instance; if we can give more Credit to the Report of *Frontinus*, than to the Silence of *Plutarch*. But none of these Actions are lessen'd by the Example of others. And if we consider *Hernan Cortes*, with fewer Men than any of them, in a more distant Country, and less known, without any Hopes of human Succour, among barbarous People, so savage in their Customs, with a Tyrant to oppose, so proud and powerful, we shall find that the Undertaking of *Cortes* was the greater, and his Resolution more heroick: Or, granting to those great Captains the Glory of having first led the Way, let us allow *Cortes* that of having gone beyond them, in the same Path.

It is not to be endured that *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, with his usual, we know not whether, Malice or Sincerity, should introduce himself as a Counsellor, upon so great an Occasion, usurping from *Cortes* the Glory of having been the first Projector. "We (says he) that were his Friends, advised him not to leave a Ship in the Port, but to sink them all." But he knew not how to support his Ambition; for a little after, he adds; "And

" this

“ this Design of sinking the Ships, he had
“ already concerted, but desired it should come
“ from us.” So that we are only beholden
to him for the Advice which came after the
Resolution. And the Remark of *Antonio de
Herrera* on the same Action, is less tolerable ;
for he affirms, “ That the Fleet was destroyed
“ at the Instance of the Soldiers; and that
“ they were persuaded and solicited thereto
“ by the Craft of *Cortes*, (that is his Expres-
“ sion) that he alone might not be obliged to
“ make good the Payment of the Ships, but
“ the Troops.” It doth not appear that *Her-
nan Cortes* was at that Time either in a Place,
or a Condition, to fear any Civil Disputes with
Diego Velasquez ; nor does this Manner of
Reasoning any way agree with the high Designs
which he was then forming. If he took this
Account from the same *Bernal Diaz*, (who
thus presumed, as fearing some Part of the
Payment of those Vessels might come to his
Share) he should have disregarded it as the
Grumbling of an interested Person : And if it
was his own Conjecture, as he gives us to un-
derstand, and that he, as an Historian, had the
Dexterity to penetrate into the Secret of the
Actions he relates, he lessens the Credit of this
Action by the Meanness of the Motive, and is
wanting in a just Proportion, by attributing
great Effects to ordinary Causes.

C H A P. XIV.

Cortes having made a Disposition for the March, is informed that Ships are seen upon the Coasts. He departs for Vera Cruz, and takes seven Soldiers belonging to the Fleet commanded by Francisco de Garay. The Army begin their March; and having with much Difficulty passed the Mountains, enter the Province of Zocotlan.

SOME of the Soldiers were much grieved at this Destruction of the Fleet; but were easily brought to Reason by the Remembrance of the past Punishment, and the Example of those of better Understanding. Measures were immediately concerted for pursuing the Expedition; and *Hernan Cortes* assembled his Troops in *Zempoala*, which consisted of Five hundred Foot, fifteen Horse, and six Pieces of Artillery, leaving an Hundred and fifty Men and two Horses in Garrison at *Vera Cruz*, and appointing Captain *Juan de Escalante* Governor, a Soldier of Valour, very diligent, and one in whom he intirely confided. He strictly charged the neighbouring *Caziques*, that during his Absence they should obey and respect him as a Person in whom he had vested his whole Authority; that they should take Care to supply him with Provisions, and People to help to build the Church,
and

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and the Fortifications of the Town, which he took Care of, not so much out of Fear of any Disturbance that might happen from the *Indians* of that Neighbourhood, as out of a Jealousy of some Invasion or Surprize from *Diego Velasquez*.

THE Cazique of *Zempoala* had provided two hundred *Tamenes*, or *Indians* of Burden, for the Baggage, and some armed Troops to augment the Army; out of which *Hernan Cortes* picked about four hundred Men, including in this Number forty or fifty noble *Indians*, of the greatest Account in that Country. And tho' he immediately treated them as his own Soldiers, his real Intention was to carry them as Hostages, for the Security of the Church he left in *Zempoala*, and of the *Spaniards* who remained at *Vera Cruz*, together with a young Page of his, whom he left in Charge with the Cazique, to learn the *Mexican* Language, in case he should lose his Interpreters. In which he shewed his great Care, and how far he look'd before him, to be provided upon all Events.

WHEN all Things were in a Readiness for the March, an Express arrived from *Juan de Escalante*, with Advice, that some Ships were on the Coast of *Vera Cruz*; without caring to come to, tho' they had made them Signals of Peace, and endeavoured it several Ways. This was not an Accident to be disregarded, therefore *Hernan Cortes* went immediately away with some of his Friends for *Vera Cruz*,
leaving

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leaving the Command of the Troops to *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Gonzalo de Sandoval*. At his Arrival, one of the Vessels seem'd to be at Anchor at a considerable Distance from the Land; and soon after, he discovered four *Spaniards* on the Shore, who drew near without any Fear, giving to understand they sought him.

ONE of them was an *Escrivano*, or Notary, and the others came as Witnesses of a Notification they intended to make to *Cortes* in the Name of their Captain. They brought it in Writing, and it contain'd, " That *Francisco de Garay*, Governor of the Island of *Jamaica*, had, by Virtue of an Order from the King, to make Discoveries and plant Colonies, embark'd on board three Ships, two hundred and seventy *Spaniards*, under the Command of Captain *Alonso de Pineda*, and taken Possession of that Land, on the side of the River of *Panuco*; and because he intended to establish a Colony near *Naotlan*, twelve or fourteen Leagues to the Westward, intimated to him, and required, that he should not make any Settlements that way."

HERNAN CORTES answer'd the Notary, " That he did not understand what he meant by his Notification, or those Forms of Law. But desired that the Captain and he might meet, and all Things should be adjusted after the most convenient Manner; for they were all Subjects of the same King, and lay under
" det

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“der an equal Obligation of assisting each other for his Service.” He bid them go back with this Message: But they not going, and the Notary insisting, in a disrespectful Manner, that he should return a direct Answer to his Notification, he ordered them to be seized; and hid himself with his Men among some little Sand Hills, whereof there are many on that Shore; where he stay’d all that Night, and part of the next Day, the Ship never offering to stir, or discovering any other Design they had, than that of staying for their Messengers; which put him upon trying whether he could by any Stratagem draw any of their Men on Shore. The first Thing he thought on, was to order the Prisoners to be stripp’d, and four of his own Men to go to the Shore in their Cloaths, making Signals to the Ship with their Cloaks and other Things. The Consequence of this Contrivance was, that twelve or fourteen Men, armed with Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, came in a Boat: But the four Men, who were disguis’d, retiring, that they might not be known, and hiding their Faces, while they answer’d their Call, they durst not land: So that only three were taken, who had leap’d on Shore, being more courageous, or less considerate; the rest return’d on board the Vessel, which, being thus undeceiv’d, weigh’d Anchor, and followed her Course. *Hernan Cortes* at first doubted that these Vessels might belong to *Diego Velasquez*, and feared they might have obliged him

him to put a Stop to his March : But the Designs of *Francisco de Garay* gave him very little Uneasiness, as an Affair which in Time might be much easier adjusted; so that he return'd to *Zempoala* eas'd of his Cares, and not without some Advantage; for he brought with him an Addition of seven Soldiers, which, in a Place where a *Spaniard* was of so much Value, was esteem'd a Happiness, and look'd upon as a good Recruit.

CORTES soon after resum'd the Thoughts of marching; and upon leaving the Place, drew up the Army in Order, forming a Body of *Spaniards* for the Vanguard, and another of *Indians* for the Rear, commanded by *Mamegi*, *Theuche*, and *Tamelli*, Caziques of the Mountains: The strongest of the *Tamenes* were commanded to take Charge of the Artillery, the rest were reserved for the Baggage. In this Order, with a Party before to look out, they began their March on the sixteenth Day of *August*. The Army was well receiv'd in their first Marches, at *Jalapa*, *Socochima*, and *Texucla*, Towns in the same Confederacy. As they went along they scattered among those friendly *Indians* the Seeds of Religion, not so much to inform them of the Truth, as to leave them suspicious of their own Errors. *Hernan Cortes* seeing them so docil and well disposed, was of Opinion, that a Cross should be erected in every Town the Army pass'd thro', that at least a Veneration for That might be introduced; but Father
Bar-

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Bartolome de Olmedo, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, opposed this Opinion, perswading him, "that it might be a Rashness to trust the Holy Cross to Barbarians ill instructed, who might offer some Indecency to it, or at least treat it after the same Manner as they did their Idols, by superstitiously worshipping the same, without being sensible of the Mystery which the Cross represented." His Piety first moved him to make the Proposition; but his good Judgment made him sensible of the Force of the others Reason.

THEY next enter'd upon the rough Part of the Mountain, the first Difficulty they met with in their Road to *Mexico*, where they suffer'd very much; for they were obliged to march for three Days over uninhabitable Rocks, whose Paths were Precipices. They carried the Artillery by Strength of Arms, and some Contrivances; and the Badness of the Weather distress'd them extremely. The Cold was excessive, and the Showers of Rain very hard and frequent, and the poor Soldiers having no Conveniency to make Barracks at Night, and no other Shelter but their Arms, they marched to keep themselves warm, and were obliged to seek for Ease in Fatigue. Their Provisions also failed them, the last Calamity upon these Occasions; and their Resolution began now to contend with their Strength, when they gained the Top of the Mountain: There they found a Temple and a great

great Quantity of Wood; but they made no Stay, because on the other Side they discovered some neighbouring Villages, to which they marched hastily to refresh themselves, and there found Accommodation sufficient to make them forget all that they had suffer'd.

At this Place began the Country of *Zocotlan*, in those Days a large and populous Province, whose Cazique resided in a City of the same Name, situate in the Valley at the Foot of the Mountain. *Hernan Cortes* gave him Notice of his Arrival and Designs, sending two *Zempoalan Indians* with the Message, who quickly return'd with a favourable Answer; and in a short Time after he discover'd the City, a large Place, which in a stately manner filled great Part of the Plain. The Towers and other Buildings at a Distance appeared white, and because a *Portuguese* Soldier compared it to *Castilblanco* in *Portugal*, for some Time it preserv'd that Name. The Cazique came forth to receive *Cortes* with great Attendance; but with a kind of forced Civility, which shewed more of Artifice than Good-Will. The Entertainment he gave the Troops was not very pleasant, their Lodging incommodious, and the Provisions scanty, and in every Thing it appear'd, how little he was pleas'd with his Guests: But *Hernan Cortes* stifled his Resentment, and repress'd the Anger of his Soldiers, that he might not give the *Indians* any Mistrust of the Peace which he had propos'd, when he intended only to march thro'

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thro' their Country; preserving the Reputation of his Arms, without stopping to improve it by inconsiderable Enterprizes.

C H A P. XV.

The Cazique of Zocothlan visits Cortes a second Time, and highly extols the Greatness of Motezuma. Cortes resolves to march by the Way of Tlascala, of which Province, and the Nature of its Government, some Information is got at Xacazingo.

THE next Day the Cazique repeated his Visit, and came with a greater Train of Relations and Servants: His Name was *Olinteth*; he was a Man of Capacity, and Lord of many Towns, and respected as the most considerable Person among all his Neighbours. *Cortes* adorn'd himself to receive him with all the usual outward Shew. And this Meeting was very remarkable; for after having received him with great Civility, and paid him the usual Compliments with a becoming Gravity, *Cortes* (believing he should find the same Complaint from him which he had heard from others) asked whether he was a Subject of the King of *Mexico*? To which the Cazique readily answer'd, "Is there any Man upon the Earth who is not a Vassal and Slave to *Motezuma*?" *Cortes* might very

very easily have been discompos'd at the Cazique's blunt Manner of answering him with another Question; but he was so much Master of himself, that, with some Scorn, he told him, "He knew very little of the World; for that he himself and those who accompanied him, were Subjects of another King, so powerful, that he had many Subjects greater Princes than *Motexuma*." The Cazique was not mov'd at these Words, but, on the contrary, without entring into any Dispute or Comparison, went on, recounting the Grandeur of his King, as one who would not stay to be asked; saying with great Gravity, "That *Motexuma* was the greatest Prince then known in the World; that the Provinces of his Dominion were not to be reckon'd; that he kept his Court in a City impregnable, founded in the Water in great Lakes; that the Entrance to it was by Dikes, or Causeways, with Draw-bridges over several Openings, by which there was a Communication of the Waters. He enlarged much on the Immensity of his Riches, and the Strength of his Armies; and above all on the Unhappiness of those who did not obey him; for with them he made up the Number of his Sacrifices, and that every Year above twenty thousand Men (Enemies, or Rebels) died upon the Altars of his Gods." What he said was true, but he spoke it like one exaggerating, and it was easily perceived that he was influenced by *Mote-*

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Motezuma, and recounted his Greatness rather to cause Fear than Admiration.

HERNAN CORTES perceiv'd the Design of his Discourse, and thinking it necessary to put on a certain Vivacity, in order to disappoint those boasting Expressions, answer'd, "That he was already sufficiently inform'd of the Empire and Greatness of *Motezuma*; and that were he a less Prince, he should not have come from such distant Countries to make him an Offer of Friendship from another Prince much greater than He: That his Embassy was peaceable, and that the Men who attended him in Arms, serv'd more for a Shew of Authority than Force; but that both he, and all the Caziques of the Empire must know that he desired Peace without being afraid of War; for that the most inconsiderable of his Soldiers was able to cope with an Army of his King; that he would never draw the Sword without just Provocation: But once drawn, I will (said he) put every Thing before me to Fire and Sword, and Nature will assist me with her Prodigies, and Heaven with its Lightnings; for it is the Cause of Heaven I come to defend, by banishing your Vices, and the Errors of your Religion, and these very Sacrifices of human Blood, which you recount as a Part of the Grandeur of your King." And (breaking up the Visit) he turn'd to his Soldiers, and said, "This, my Friends, is what we seek, great Difficulties,

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“and great Riches: By the one we gain
 “Fame, and by the other Estates.” With
 this short Speech he abated the Pride of the
Indians, and added fresh Courage to the *Spaniards*;
 telling his Thoughts to all without
 Artifice; for from the very Beginning of this
 Undertaking, God had so strengthen’d his
 Heart, that altho’ he sufficiently consider’d,
 and knew the Dangers, he enter’d upon them,
 as if he had been sure of Success.

THE *Spaniards* stay’d five Days in *Zocothlan*;
 and *Cortes* quickly found in the *Cazique*
 another sort of Respect; for the Accommodation
 of the Troops was better’d; and he was more
 punctual in the Entertainment of his Guests.
Cortes’s Answer gave him much Uneasiness,
 and he discover’d an anxious Pensiveness,
 occasion’d by his own Observations,
 as he himself afterwards confess’d to Father
Bartolome de Olmedo. He concluded in the first
 Place, that they could not be Men who were
 so bold as to oppose *Moteczuma*: And again,
 that they must be something more, who talked
 with so much Contempt of his Gods. With this
 Conceit he observ’d the Difference of their
 Countenances, the Novelty of their Arms,
 and the Strangeness of their Habit, together
 with the Obedience of their Horses: And it
 seem’d to him, that the *Spaniards* were endued
 with superior Reason, when they argued
 against the Inhumanity of their Sacrifices,
 the Injustice of their Laws, and the
 Permissions of Sensuality (so
 un-

unbounded amongst those Barbarians, that the greatest Outrages committed against Nature were accounted lawful). And from all these Principles, his high Esteem of them drew Consequences, to make him believe, that some Divinity dwelt in them. For there is no Understanding so deprav'd, as not to be sensible of the Deformity of Vice, notwithstanding it be embrac'd by the Inclination, and disguis'd by Custom. But the Fear of *Moteczuma* so entirely possess'd him, that he could not prevail with himself to acknowledge the Influence those Considerations had on his Mind. He rested satisfy'd with giving what was necessary for the Support of the Troops: And not daring to shew his Riches, was sparing of his Presents, the greatest of his Liberality being four Female Slaves, which he gave *Cortes* to make his Bread, and twenty noble *Indians*, which he offered as Guides for the Army.

THERE arose a Question about the Road which they should chuse for their March; and the Cazique propos'd that of the Province of *Cholula*, as being a fertile Country, and well peopled, whose Inhabitants being more inclin'd to Merchandize than War, would give a secure and commodious Passage to his Troops: And he advis'd them with great Earnestness not to march by the Road of *Tlascalala*, as being a Country always in War, and the Inhabitants of so bloody a Disposition, that they plac'd their Happiness in making

and keeping Men their Enemies. But the principal *Indians* who commanded the *Zempoalans*, told *Cortes* privately, that he must not confide in that Advice, for that *Cholula* was a very populous City, and the People not to be depended on. That in *Cholula*, and the Towns of that District, *Moteczuma* commonly quarter'd his Troops: And that it was very possible the Cazique might lead them into the Danger with an evil Design: For the Province of *Tlascala* (tho' it were large, and the People warlike) were Confederates and Friends to the *Totonaques* and *Zempoalans*, which were in his Army, and made continual Wars with *Moteczuma*: For which two Considerations, it would be more secure to march thro' their Country: And being in Company with their Allies, the *Spaniards* would not be looked upon as Strangers. *Cortes* lik'd what they said, and finding it more reasonable to trust to his *Indian* Friends, than to a Cazique so much affected to the Interest of *Moteczuma*, he commanded the Troops to march to the Province of *Tlascala*, whose Bounds they in a little Time discover'd; for they border'd upon those of *Zocotlan*; and during the first Marches nothing considerable offer'd: But afterwards they heard some Rumours of War, and were inform'd, that the Country was in Arms, and their Design kept secret; for which Reason *Cortes* resolv'd to halt in a Town but indifferently

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ferently peopled, call'd *Xacazingo*, until he might be better inform'd.

TLASCALA was at that Time a Province abounding with Inhabitants, and above fifty Leagues in Circumference: The Land was mountainous and uneven, full of Hills, which seem'd to be Children of the Mountain which is now call'd the *Great Cordillera*. Their Towns, whose Structure was rather durable than handsome, were built upon Eminences, partly to make use of the Advantages of the Ground in their Defence, and partly to leave the Plains to cultivate. At first they had Kings, which Government lasted some Years, until Civil Wars arising, they no longer cared to obey, and threw off the Yoke. But as the People cannot subsist of themselves, (being always Enemies to Subjection, till they are sensible of the fatal Consequences of Liberty) they form'd themselves into a Commonwealth, making many Princes, to get rid of one. They divided their Towns into different Districts, and each named one of their Chiefs to reside in the Court of *Tlascala*, where they form'd a Senate, whose Resolutions all obey'd. A notable Kind of Aristocracy, which being found amongst the Barbarity of those People, diminishes pretty much the Credit of our Politicks. Under this Form of Government they maintain'd themselves long against the Kings of *Mexico*, and at this Time were in their greatest Strength; for the Oppressions of *Motezuma* had augmented the

Number of their Confederates; and they had now brought over to their Party the *Otomies*, a Nation barbarous even among Barbarians, but always desirous of War, in which they knew not how to distinguish Valour from Cruelty.

CORTES having receiv'd this Account, and not thinking it reasonable to despise it, resolv'd to send Messengers to the Republick, to facilitate the Passage of his Troops; and this Commission he intrusted to four of the chiefest *Zempoalans*, instructing them by Means of *Donna Marina* and *Aguilar*, in the Speech they were to make to the Senate, till they had in a Manner got it by Heart: And he chose them out of those who proposed in *Zocothlan* the Road of *Tlascala*, that they might have their own Advice in View, and be the more interested in the good Success of the Negotiation.

C H A P. XVI.

Cortes's four Envoys set out for Tlascala. An Account of their Habit, and the Manner how Embassies were deliver'd in that Country; and of the Debates of that Republick about the Point of receiving the Spaniards in a peaceable Manner.

THE four *Zempoalans* immediately adorn'd themselves after the Manner of Ambassadors: For which Employment, they put upon their Shoulder a Mantle, or Tippet of Cotton, wreath'd, and knotted at the Ends: In the Right Hand they bore a large Arrow, with the Feathers up, and on the left Arm a Target made of a Shell. The Intent of the Embassy was known by the Feathers of the Arrow; for the Red denoted War, and the White denoted Peace; after the same Manner as the *Romans* distinguish'd by different Symbols the *Feciales* and *Caduceatores*. By these Signs they were known and respected in their Marches: But they could not go out of the high Roads of the Province where they were travelling; for if they were found without them, they lost those Privileges and Immunities which were held sacred by these People, observing religiously this kind of publick Faith, which Necessity invented, and placed among their Laws, as the Right of Nations.

WITH these Marks of their Employment, the four Envoys of *Cortes* entred into *Tlascala*, and being known as such, they were lodged in the *Calpisca* (for so they called the House set apart for the Reception of Ambassadors) and the Day following the Senate met to give them Audience in a great Hall, where they held their Councils. The Senators were seated according to their Seniority, upon low Chairs of an extraordinary Wood made of one Piece, which they called *Topales*. As soon as the Ambassadors appear'd, they raised themselves a little from their Seats, and welcomed them with moderate Courtesy. They came in with their Arrows raised on high, and their Tippets upon their Heads; which, among their Ceremonies, was accounted the most submissive. Having paid their Respects to the Senate, they walked leisurely up to the middle of the Hall, where they kneel'd down, and without lifting up their Eyes, waited for Leave to be given them to speak. The eldest Senator ordered them to declare their Business, and they seating themselves on their Legs, one of them who was pitch'd upon as the properest Person to make the Speech, delivered himself after this Manner:

“ NOBLE *Republick*, *Valiant and Potent*
 “ *Tlascallans*; The Lord of *Zempoala*, and
 “ the Mountain Caziques, your Friends and
 “ Confederates, send you Health; and wishing
 “ you abundant Crops, and the Death of your
 “ Enemies, they give you to understand, that
 “ certain

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“ certain invincible Men are arrived among
“ them from the East, who seem to be Deities;
“ for they sail upon great Palaces, and make
“ use of Thunder and Lightning, the peculiar
“ Arms of Heaven: They are Servants of
“ another God, superior to ours, who is of-
“ fended with Tyrannies, and Sacrifices of hu-
“ man Blood. Their Captain is Ambassador
“ from a very powerful Prince, who by the
“ Impulse of his Religion, desires to reform
“ the Abuses of our Country, and redress the
“ Violences of *Moteczuma*; and having al-
“ ready rescued our Provinces from the Op-
“ pression under which they lived, finds him-
“ self obliged to pass thro’ your Republick, in
“ his Way to *Mexico*; and desires to know
“ wherein that Tyrant has offended you, that
“ he may take your Cause in hand, and add it
“ to the rest, which justify his Undertaking.
“ With this Notice then of their Designs, and
“ with Experience of their Benignity, we come
“ before you, to request and admonish you, on
“ the Part of our Caziques, and all their Confe-
“ derates, that you would admit these Strangers,
“ as the Benefactors and Friends of your Allies.
“ And on the Part of their Captain, we assure
“ you, that he comes in a peaceable Manner,
“ and only demands a free Passage thro’ your
“ Country, after you shall be persuaded that
“ he desires your Good, and that his Arms are
“ the Instruments of Justice and Reason, which
“ defend the Cause of Heaven, in their own
“ Nature

“ Nature good and mild, and only hurtful to
 “ the Wicked, and where they are provok’d.”

HAVING thus concluded, the Four raised themselves upon their Knees, and making a profound Reverence to the Senate, they seated themselves as before, expecting their Answer.

THE Senators conferred a little among themselves; and then one, in the Name of all the rest, told them, “ That they admitted the Proposition of the *Zempoalans* and *Totonaques* their Confederates, with all imaginable Gratitude; but that the Answer they were to give to the Captain of the Strangers, required further Deliberation.” Having received this Answer, the Ambassadors retired to their Lodging; and the Senate shut themselves in, to discuss the Difficulties and Conveniencies of the Demand made by *Cortes*. They first weighed the Importance of the Affair, thinking it worthy of mature Deliberation; but they were soon divided in Opinion, and this Division occasion’d very warm and obstinate Disputes. Some were for granting the Strangers the Liberty of passing on, as they desired; others were for making War upon them, and endeavouring to destroy them at once; others were for denying them Passage, but permitting them to continue their March, provided it were without their Confines: Which Difference of Opinion occasion’d much Noise, without coming to any Resolution, till *Magiscatzin*, one of the eldest of the Senators, and of greatest Authority in the Republick,

lick, took the Matter in hand; who causing Silence to be made, is said to have spoke after this Manner:

“ You well know, Noble and Valiant *Tlascallans*, that in the first Ages of Antiquity, it was revealed to our Priests, and is to this Day believed amongst us as a Point of Religion, that an invincible Race of Men are to come from the Oriental Regions to this World, which we inhabit, with such Dominion over the Elements, that they shall found moveable Cities upon the Seas, making use of Fire and Air to subdue the Earth: And tho’ among the Judicious, it is not believed that they shall be Gods, (as the Vulgar apprehends it) yet the same Tradition informs us, that they shall be a celestial Race of Men, so valiant, that one shall be able to vanquish a thousand; and so good, that they shall only endeavour to make us live according to Reason and Justice. I cannot deny, but that the great Conformity there is between these Strangers, and those Signs, has given me a very great Concern. These come from the East; their Arms are Fire, and Houses on the Waters are their Vessels. As to their Valour, you have already heard by Fame of their Actions in *Tabasco*; and their Goodness you now see acknowledged by your own very Confederates; and if we turn our Eyes to those Comets and Signals from Heaven, which so often terrify us, methinks they speak to us, and come as
“ Messengers

“ Messengers of this great Novelty. Who
“ then will be so bold and rash (if these be
“ the People of our Prophecies) to try his
“ Strength with Heaven, and treat as Enemies
“ those who come armed with its Decrees?
“ I, at least, for my own Part, shall fear the
“ Indignation of the Gods, who rigorously
“ punish those that rebel against them; and with
“ their own very Lightning, it seems as if they
“ were pointing out to us to obey; for the
“ Threats of Thunder are to all, and it only
“ destroys where it meets Resistance. But I
“ will suppose that these Signals are to be dis-
“ regarded as casual, and that the Strangers
“ are Men, like us: What Harm have they
“ done us, that we should consult about Re-
“ venge? Upon what Injury done to us shall we
“ found this Violence? Shall *Tlascala*, which
“ maintains its Liberty by its Victories, and
“ its Victories by the Justice of its Arms, enter
“ voluntarily into a War, which casts a Ble-
“ mish upon its Government and Valour?
“ These People come in a peaceable Manner:
“ Their Request is to pass through our Re-
“ publick, which they do not endeavour with-
“ out our Permission: Where then is their
“ Crime? Where our Provocation? They ar-
“ rive at our Gates, confiding in the Pro-
“ tection of our Friends; and shall we lose
“ our Friends by falling upon those who desire
“ our Friendship? What will the rest of our
“ Confederates judge of this Action? And
“ what will Fame report of us, if five hundred
“ Men

“ Men oblige us to take Arms? Shall we gain
 “ as much by overcoming them, as we shall
 “ lose by having feared them? My Opinion
 “ is, that we admit them with Courtesy, and
 “ grant them the Passage they desire; if they
 “ are Men, because their Request is reasonable;
 “ and if they are any Thing more, because
 “ the Will of the Gods is a sufficient Motive.”

THE Opinion of *Magiscatzin* met with
 great Applause, and all were inclined to follow
 him with Acclamations; when one of the
 Senators, called *Xicotental*, desired Leave to
 speak: A young Man of great Spirit, who, on
 Account of Capacity and noble Actions, pos-
 sessed the Post of General of their Army.
 Leave being obtained, and Silence being made,
 “ Grey Hairs, said he, are not always infallible
 “ in their Decisions, as being more inclined
 “ to cautious Reflections, than to hardy En-
 “ terprizes; and more proper to persuade to
 “ Patience, than to valiant Actions. I pay
 “ all Respect, as you do, to the Authority and
 “ Opinion of *Magiscatzin*: But you will not
 “ think it strange, considering my Age and
 “ Profession, if I have different Notions, of a
 “ less refin’d Policy, but perhaps more just.
 “ When we are talking of making War, we
 “ are often deceived by that which we call
 “ Prudence; for whatsoever looks like Fear
 “ is not Virtue, but a Passion: It is true,
 “ there is an Expectation among us of these
 “ Oriental Reformers, which is kept up by a
 “ Prophecy, that is slow in its Completion.
 “ It

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" It is not my Intention to make a little of a
 " Report, that has been made venerable by the
 " Consent of Ages; but tell me, I desire you,
 " what Security have we, that these are our
 " promised Strangers? Is it the same Thing
 " to come by the Way of the East, as to come
 " from the Celestial Regions, which we con-
 " sider as the Birth-Place of the Sun? The
 " Fire-Arms, and great Embarkations, which
 " you call Sea Palaces, may they not be the
 " Effect of human Industry, which are admired
 " for their Novelty? And perhaps they may
 " be the Illusions of some Inchantment, like
 " the deceiving of the Sight, which we call
 " Cunning in our Diviners. What they did
 " in *Tabasco*, was it any Thing more than
 " breaking an Army superior to them in Num-
 " ber? Shall this be thought in *Tlascala* super-
 " natural, where every Day greater Deeds are
 " done, with the ordinary Force? And this
 " great Benignity they have used towards the
 " *Zempoalans*; may it not be an Artifice, the
 " more easily to gain the People? At least I
 " shall take it for a suspicious Sweetness, that
 " pleases the Palate, to cover the Poison; for it
 " is not of a Piece with the rest, that we know
 " of their Covetousness, Pride, and Ambition.
 " These Men (if they are not some Monsters,
 " flung up by the Sea upon our Coasts) rob
 " our People; live at Discretion by the Law
 " of their own Will, thirsting after Gold and
 " Silver, and given up to the Delights of the
 " Land. They condemn our Laws, and en-
 " deavour

"deavour dangerous Novelties, both in Justice
 "and Religion: They destroy our Temples,
 "pull in Pieces our Altars, and blaspheme our
 "Gods; and is this the Race you call celestial?
 "And can any one make it a Doubt, whether
 "we should resist? And do we listen without
 "Scandal to the Name of Peace? If the *Zem-*
 "*poalans* and *Totonagues* have admitted them
 "into their Friendship, it was without con-
 "sulting our Republick: They advance under
 "no better Protection than the Want of
 "Thought, which deserves to be punish'd in
 "those that support them. These Impressions
 "of the Air, and frightful Signals, so magnified
 "by *Magiscatzin*, do rather persuade us to
 "treat them like Enemies, as being constant
 "Forerunners of Calamities and Miseries:
 "Heaven with its Prodigies does not give us
 "notice of what we wish, but what we are
 "to fear; for those Felicities never come ac-
 "companied by Terrors; nor does Heaven
 "light Comets to lull us asleep, and to make
 "us negligent and careless. My Opinion
 "therefore is, that we assemble our Forces,
 "and make an End of them at once; for they
 "come into our Power, mark'd out by Signals
 "in the Heavens, purposely that we may look
 "on them as Oppressors of our Country, and
 "of our Gods; and that establishing the Re-
 "putation of our Arms upon their Punish-
 "ment, the World may perceive, that it is
 "not the same Thing to be immortal in *Ta-*
 "*basco*, and invincible in *Tlascala*."

THESE

THESE Reasons made greater Impression on the Senate than those of *Magistatzins*, as more agreeable to the Inclination of the People, bred up in Arms, and breathing nothing but War; but upon discussing the Matter again, they resolved, (as a Medium between both Opinions) that *Xicotencal* should assemble his Troops, and try his Strength with the *Spaniards*: supposing, if he overcame them, they preserved the Reputation of their Nation, and if he should be beaten, room might be left for the Republick to treat of Peace, by laying the Blame of the Engagement upon the *Otomies*, and declaring it was a Disorder occasioned by their unseasonable Fierceness. For which End they so disposed Matters, that the *Zempoalan* Ambassadors were detained in a sort of disguised Imprisonment, having in view the preserving of their Confederates; for they very well knew the Danger of this War, tho' they undertook it with little Apprehension, being so brave, that they depended on their own Valour for Success, but at the same Time so cautious, that they kept in view the Accidents of a contrary Fortune.

C H A P. XVII.

The Spaniards resolve to draw near to Tlascala, looking on the Detention of their Messengers as a bad Sign. They engage with a Body of five thousand Indians that lay in Ambush for them, and afterwards with the whole Power of the Republick.

EIGHT Days the *Spaniards* stay'd at *Xacazingo*, expecting the Return of their Messengers, whose Delay was looked on as something extraordinary; and *Hernan Cortes*, with the Approbation of his Captains, and the Chiefs of the *Zempoalans*, (for he used to shew them so much Favour and Confidence, as to hear their Opinions) resolved to continue his March, and draw nearer to *Tlascala*, in order to discover the Intentions of those *Indians*; considering, that if they were resolved on War, (as appear'd by the first Tokens, now confirmed by the Detention of their Ambassadors) it would be better to shorten the Time of their Preparations, and seek them in their own City, before they should have the Advantage of joining their Troops, and of engaging, drawn up in Order in the Field. The Army immediately marched in good Order, without omitting any of the Precautions which are wont to be observed by those who set their Foot

into an Enemy's Country; and taking a Road between two Mountains, whose Skirts formed a very delightful Valley, a little more than the Distance of two Leagues, they came to a great Wall, which ran from the one Mountain to the other, entirely stopping up the Way: A sumptuous and strong Piece of Building, which shewed the Power and Greatness of the Owner. The Outside was of hewn Stone, cemented with Mortar of extraordinary Strength. It was twenty Foot thick, and a Fathom and a half high; and on the Top was a Parapet, after the Manner of our Fortifications. The Entrance was narrow and winding, the Wall in that Part dividing, and making two Walls, which circularly crossed each other, for the Space of ten Paces. They were informed by the *Indians* of *Zocothlan*, that the said Fortification was the Boundary of the Province of *Tlascala*, built by the antient Inhabitants to defend them against the Invasions of their Enemies; and it was very happy that the *Tlascalans* had not possessed themselves of it against the *Spaniards*; whether they wanted Time to march, out and receive them at that Fortification, or that they resolved to expect them in the open Field, in order to attack them with their whole Force, and so deprive the Inferior in Number of the Advantage of engaging in a narrow Pass.

THE *Spaniards* passed to the other Side without any Disorder or Difficulty; and having

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having again formed themselves, continu'd their March slowly, till coming out into a more open Country, the Scouts discovered at a considerable Distance twenty or thirty *Indians*, whose Plumes (an Ornament only used by Soldiers) denoted that there were Troops in the Field. They came with this Account to *Cortes*; who ordered them to return with Speed, and endeavour to call them with Signs of Peace, without giving themselves much Trouble in following them; for the Place where they were was uneven, and there seemed to be several Hollows and high Banks capable of hiding an Ambuscade. He immediately follow'd them with eight Horse, ordering his Captains to advance leisurely with the Infantry; for it is never right to march Soldiers out of Breath, and enter into an Engagement with Troops that are fatigued.

THE *Indians* stayed in the same Place till the six Horse that had been detach'd before drew near; and without minding their Calling, and Behaviour with which they endeavoured to persuade them to Peace, they turned their Backs, running till they incorporated with a Party a little before them, where they fac'd about, and put themselves upon their Defence. At the same Time the fourteen Horse joined, and charged that Troop, rather to discover the Country, than for any Account they made of their small Number. The *Indians* stood the Charge,

losing but little Ground, making use of their Arms so valiantly, that without minding what Damage they received, they wounded two Soldiers, and five Horses. Upon that the Ambuscade which they had prepared march'd out to the Assistance of their Friends, and appeared to be a Body of about five thousand Men at the Time when our Infantry came up, and the Troops formed themselves in a Battalion, to sustain the Fury with which the Enemy advanced to charge. But at the first Volley of the Fire-Arms, which made a great Slaughter of their Men, they turned their Backs, and retired very hastily; which first Confusion the *Spaniards* took Advantage of to close with them; and did it with such good Order, and so much Resolution, that in a small Time they quitted the Field, leaving sixty Men dead upon the Spot, and some Prisoners. *Hernan Cortes* did not care to follow the Chace, because the Day was declining, and he was desirous rather to terrify than destroy them. The *Spaniards* immediately possessed themselves of some little Houses which were in Sight, where they found Provisions, and passed the Night chearfully, but not carelessly, some taking their Rest, whilst others watch'd.

THE next Day they continued their March in the same Order, and discovered the Enemy a second Time in a larger Body than before, coming with much more Haste than good Order. They marched up their Troops with

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with great Noise and Arrogance: But discharging at too great a Distance, their Arrows did no Execution; and at the same Time they began to retreat, continuing to discharge at a great Distance, and particularly the Slingers, who being the farthest off, seemed the most resolute. *Hernan Cortes* soon perceiv'd, that their Retreat had more of Stratagem than Fear; and guessing that a rougher Engagement would ensue, he followed the Enemy with his Forces in close Order, till having gained an Eminence which interposed in the Road, he discovered in the Plain, on the other side, an Army which, as it was said, consisted of above forty thousand Men. It was composed of various Nations, distinguished by the Colours of their Ensigns and Plumes. In it were the Nobles of *Tlascala*, and all their Confederates. *Xicotencal* commanded in Chief, who, as has been said, was General of the Army of the Republick; and under him the Auxiliary Troops were commanded by their own Caziques, or most considerable Soldiers.

THE *Spaniards* might very well have been disheartened at the Sight of such an unequal Force; but upon this Occasion, the Experience they had gained in *Tabasco* stood them in great Stead, and *Hernan Cortes* stopp'd but a very little while to persuade them to the Battle; for he saw by their Countenances, and other Demonstrations, the Desire they had to engage. They began presently to march

down the Hill with a chearful Security: And because it was broken uneven Land, in which they could not manage their Horses, neither had the Fire-Arms their Effect, discharged from the upper Ground, they took much Pains to beat off the Enemy, who endeavoured to dispute the Pass: But as soon as the Horse got into better Ground, and part of the Foot had march'd into the Plain, they disposed themselves so as to make Way for the Artillery to come down, and the Rear-Guard to form themselves. The main Body of the Enemy was at little more Distance than Musket-Shot, engaging only by Shouts and Threats; but scarce did our Troops begin to move, after the Signal given, when the *Indians* began to retire again, as if they had fled; being indeed a Second Stratagem of *Xicotencal's*, to gain by the advancing of the *Spaniards*, his Design of surrounding and attacking them on all Sides; as appeared soon after; for as soon as ever he had them at a Distance from the Hill, which might have secured their Rear, the greatest Part of his Army opened to the Right and Left, and running furiously, possessed themselves of the Ground on both Sides; and then closing the Circle, obtained their Purpose of surrounding their Enemies at a Distance. They presently began, with incredible Diligence, to draw into a less Compass; and were so united and resolute, that the *Spaniards* found it necessary to draw up in a Square, facing every Way,

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Way, and take Care of defending themselves rather than of offending the Enemy, making Amends by Union, and a good Disposition, for the Inequality of Numbers.

THE Air was filled with Arrows, and rent by Shouts and Noise: It rained Darts and Stones upon the *Spaniards*; and the *Indians* being sensible what little Effect their missive Weapons had on their Enemies, came quickly to the Pikes and Swords. Great was the Slaughter of the *Indians*, and greater was their Obstinacy. *Hernan Cortes* charged with his Horse where he found the greatest Occasion, breaking in and trampling under Foot all that were near him. The Fire-Arms did great Damage, and at the same Time occasioned much Terror; the Artillery did not make a Shot in vain, casting Astonishment among those whom the Balls spared. As it was one of their Policies of War to conceal their Wounded, and carry off their Dead, a great many were employed that Way, and their Troops began to diminish; so that they fell back to a greater Distance, and began to fight more cautiously; but *Hernan Cortes*, before they could put themselves in Order to close afresh, resolved to attack the weakest Part of their Army, and open a Passage to seize some Post, whereby he might extend his whole Front against the Enemy. He communicated his Intentions to his Captains; and having placed his Horse on the Wings, followed by the Foot at a large Pace, he closed with the *Indians*, calling

aloud upon St. *Peter*. At first they made some Resistance, plying their Weapons valiantly; but the Fierceness of the Horses (supernatural or monstrous in their Imagination) put them into Fear and Disorder, so that flying on all Sides, they wounded and trod one another under Foot, doing the same Damage to themselves which they feared from the *Spaniards*.

PEDRO DE MORON, who was mounted on a lusty swift Mare, had engaged himself too far; when some principal *Tlascalans*, (who were got together for this Purpose) seeing him alone, attacked him, and having seized his Lance and Bridle-Arm, gave the Mare so many Wounds, that she fell down dead, and in an Instant they cut off her Head, some say, it was at one Stroke; but that hyperbolical Way of Speaking does nothing alter the Substance of the Fact. *Pedro de Moron* received some slight Wounds, and was taken Prisoner; but he was soon after relieved by other Horse, who, with the Death of some *Indians*, freed him, and brought him back to the Army. This Accident was no way favourable to the Design of *Cortes*; for it gave the Enemy Time to return and close, and form themselves again on that Side; so that the *Spaniards* now tired with the Engagement, (for it lasted an Hour) began to doubt of the Success; but making a Virtue of Necessity, they were preparing to renew their Attack, when at once the Cries of the Enemy ceased, and there being a sudden Silence among that Multitude,

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Multitude, they heard only their little Kettle-Drums and Horns sounding a Retreat, after their Manner, as presently appeared; for at the same Time their Troops began to move off; and marching slowly for the Road of *Tlascala*, they removed to the Top of a Hill, and left the Field to their Enemies.

THE *Spaniards* had Time to breathe upon this extraordinary Accident, which appeared to them miraculous, because they did not perceive any natural Cause, to which it might be attributed; but they understood afterwards, (by Means of some Prisoners) that *Xicotencal* had ordered the Retreat, because the greatest Part of his Commanders being killed in the Battle, he durst not undertake to manage so many Men, without Officers to command them. Many of their Nobles likewise fell, which made the Action cost them dear, and very great was the Number of their Wounded; but notwithstanding so great a Loss, and that they had quitted the Field to our Troops, who were entire, they entred their Lodgment triumphant, accounting it for a Victory, that they were not overcome; and the Head of the Mare being all they had to shew for their Triumph, *Xicotencal* carried it before him upon the Point of a Spear, and immediately sent it to *Tlascala*, making a Present to the Senate of that formidable Spoil of War; which was greatly admired, and afterwards sacrificed in one of their Temples with extraordinary Solemnity: A proper Victim for
those

those Altars, and less unclean than the very Gods which were honoured by it.

ON our Side about nine or ten Soldiers were wounded, and some *Zempoalans*, whose Assistance was of a great Service upon this Occasion; for the Example of the *Spaniards* made them valiant, together with the Anger of seeing their Alliance despised and broken. At a little Distance was discovered a small Place, seated on an Eminence which commanded the Country; and *Hernan Cortes*, considering the Fatigue of his People, and how much Occasion they had to be refreshed, resolv'd to possess himself of that Post for their Lodgment; which was done without Difficulty; for the Inhabitants abandoned it upon the Retreat of their Army, leaving in it Abundance of Victuals, which helped to preserve our own Provisions, and refresh our Men. There was not sufficient Accommodation for all to be under Cover; but the *Zempoalans* took Care of themselves, building Huts in a very short Time; and the Situation, which was naturally strong, was secured as well as possible with some Works of Earth and Fascines, which they rais'd all the rest of the Day, with as much Heart and Chearfulness as if their very Work were Rest; not that they were insensible of the Danger in which they were, or thought the War finish'd, but because they expected from Providence, what they could not so much as hope for from their own Strength; and finding now, that
Heaven

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Heaven had declared in their Favour, they looked on those Things as possible, which a little before seem'd to require a Miracle to accomplish.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Tlascalans recruit their Army. They give Battle a second Time with greater Force; and are overthrown by the Valour of the Spaniards, and by another new Accident, which puts them in Disorder.

VARIOUS were the Reasonings in *Tlascala*, upon the News of this ill Success. They lamented the Death of their Captains and Caziques in a publick Manner; and from this Concern sprung different Opinions. Some cried out for Peace, dignifying the *Spaniards* with the Name of immortal; whilst others broke out into Reproaches and Threats against them, comforting themselves with the Death of the *Mare*, the only Trophy of the War. *Magiscatzin* boasted, that he had foreseen the Success, repeating to his Friends what he had represented in the Senate, and speaking upon the Subject as one who finds a Vanity even in the rejecting of his Advice. *Xicotencal* from his Camp desired that they would reinforce his Army with fresh Supplies; lessening his Loss, and yet making use of that to move them to Revenge.

venge. At this Time one of the confederate Caziques arrived at *Tlascala* with ten thousand Men, which Succour they looked on as a Providence of the Gods; and their Courage increasing with their Forces, the Senate resolved to lift fresh Troops, and prosecute the War at all Hazard.

HERNAN CORTES (the Day after the Battle) endeavoured only to put his Fortifications in better Order, adding new Works to help the natural Strength of the Place. He had a Mind to renew the Offers of Peace, and could find no Way to introduce his Negotiation; for the four *Zempoalan* Envoys (who were returned to the Army by different Ways) came terrify'd, and infected the rest. They had happily broke from a streight Confinement, (where they were put the Day *Xicotencal* took the Field) being destin'd with their Blood to appease the God of War; and upon the Report they made of this Inhumanity, it did not seem convenient, nor indeed would it have been easy, to make others expose themselves to the same Danger.

THE very Stillness of the Enemy gave him Concern; for there was not any Rumour of War in all the Country round about; and the Retreat of *Xicotencal* had all the Signs of a Dispute not yet ended. He ought in right Reason to have maintained this Post for his Retreat, in case of Necessity; but he found Inconveniencies in that Resolution; for the *Indians* would have interpreted the shutting himself

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himself up in his Quarters, as Want of Valour; a Consideration of great Importance, in a War supported more by Opinion than Force.

BUT taking Care of every Thing, like a diligent Commander, he resolved to sally out the next Day in the Morning to gain Intelligence, view the Country, and disturb the Enemy; which he executed in Person, with all his Horse, and two hundred Foot, the one Half *Spaniards*, and the other *Zempoalans*.

WE must own this Undertaking was dangerous, considering the Force of the Enemy, and in a Country so conveniently disposed for Ambushes. *Hernan Cortes* should have ventured his Person less, the whole Affair depending upon him; and in our Opinion, this Excess of Bravery is by no means worthy of Imitation by those who command Armies, whose Safety ought to be consider'd as publick, and whose Valour is to inspire others. We might excuse him by the Examples of several great Men, who have been the first in exposing themselves to the Dangers of Battles, performing a Part with their Swords, in the Execution of their own Commands; but as we are more obliged to give a just Relation of his Actions, than to clear them from all Blame, we shall leave him open to this honourable Objection, which is indeed the best Fault of a Commander.

THEY went so far as to discover some Villages in the Road to *Tlascala*, where they found

found great Quantities of Provisions, and took several Prisoners; from whom they understood, that *Xicotencal* was incamped two Leagues from thence, not far from the City; and that he was raising more Forces against the *Spaniards*; with which Account they returned to their Quarters, having done some Damage in the neighbouring Places: for the *Zempoalans*, who were now anger'd upon their own Account, put every Thing to Fire and Sword they met in their Way; an Excess which *Cortes* reprimanded faintly; for he was not sorry, that the *Tlascalans* should be made sensible how far he was from being afraid of the War, since he provoked them to it with such Hostilities.

He presently set at Liberty all the Prisoners he had made in that Sally; and gave them such Entertainment as appeared necessary to make them lose their Fear of the *Spaniards*, and receive an Impression of their Benignity. He gave Orders to search out (among the other Prisoners that were taken on the Day of the Battle) those who appeared the most ingenious; and out of those he chose two or three to carry a Message to *Xicotencal*. The Substance of which was, *That he was very much concerned for the Loss his People had sustained in the Battle; for which they were to blame who gave the Occasion, by receiving those with Arms who came to propose Peace; that he did again require it of him, laying aside entirely all the Reasons he had to be displeased;*

displeased; but that if they would not presently disarm, and accept of it, they would oblige him utterly to destroy them at once, making the Name of their Nation a Terror to their Neighbours. The Indians departed with this Message, well instructed and pleased, promising to return with the Answer; and but a few Hours passed before they made good their Word: But they returned bloody, and ill-treated; for *Xicotencal* order'd them to be punish'd for their Boldness in bringing him such a Proposal; and did not order them to be kill'd, that they might return wounded to the Sight of *Cortes*; and that carrying with them that farther Proof of his Resolution, they might let him know, *That at the first Rising of the Sun he should see him in the Field; that his Intention was to carry him and all his People alive to the Altars of his Gods, and appease them with their Hearts Blood; and that he did immediately give him Notice of his Resolution, that he might have Time to prepare himself; giving him further to understand, that he was not accustomed to lessen the Glory of his Victories by the Carelessness of his Enemies.* The Insolence of this *Barbarian* occasion'd more Anger than Concern in the Mind of *Cortes*: But he did not disregard his Advice, nor despise his Counsel; on the contrary, at the first Break of Day, he drew out his Troops into the Field, leaving in his Quarters such a Force as he thought necessary for their Defence; and

and advancing little less than half a League, chose a convenient Post, where he might receive the Enemy with Advantage; there he form'd his Ranks as the Ground would permit, and agreeable to the Experience he already had of this War. His Flanks he secured with the Artillery, ordering when and at what Distance to discharge. He sent his Vanguard before, and putting himself at the Head of his Horse, to take care of succouring where it was needfull, he attended the Success, shewing in his Countenance the Easiness of his Mind, without having much Occasion to make use of his Eloquence to instruct and animate his Soldiers; for they all came chearful and courageous, their Custom of overcoming making them desirous to engage.

It was not long before the Scouts returned with an Account that the Enemy was upon the March with a very powerful Army; and very soon after, their Vanguard appeared. The Plain began to fill with armed *Indians*; the Eye could not reach the End of their Troops, which covered the whole Horizon. Their Army consisted of above fifty thousand Men, (as they themselves confess'd) the whole Force of the Republick, and all their Allies, that they might take the *Spaniards* alive, and carry them bound, first offering their Blood to the Gods, and then giving their Flesh for a Banquet. They brought forth into the Field a great Eagle of Gold, raised on high, the Ensign of *Tlascala*, which they only made

use

use of in their greatest Undertakings. They drew near with incredible Diligence; and when they came within Reach of the Cannon, the Artillery began to put a Stop to their Speed, striking such a Terror into them, that they stood still some Time, divided between Fear and Anger: But Anger prevailing, they came forward in a Throng, till they were so near as to make use of their Slings and Arrows, where they were stopped a second Time by the Terror of the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows.

THE Engagement continued a long Time very bloody on the Part of the *Indians*, and but with small Damage to the *Spaniards*, by reason of the Advantage of their Arms, and the Order and good Disposition with which they gave and received the Charge; but the *Indians* perceiving the Blood they lost, and that their own Dilatoriness was destructive to them, they moved all at once; and the Hindmost pushing on the Foremost, the whole Multitude fell upon the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans* with so much Fury and Despair, that they broke their Ranks, and entirely destroy'd that good Disposition in which they were formed. There was then Occasion for all the Valour of the Soldiers, all the Bravery and Diligence of the Officers, all the Strength of the Horse, and all the Want of military Skill in the *Indians*, to enable them to form again; which they did by main Force, and

with the Death of all that did not immediately give Way before them.

AT this Juncture there happened an Accident, as before, by which it appeared a second Time, that the special Providence of God defended his own Cause. A very great Disturbance was perceived in the Enemy's Army; Troops were moving to different Parts, dividing and turning their Arms against each other: In the End, they all retired in a tumultuous Manner; and those who were engaged in the Front, turned their Backs, and fled. The *Spaniards* pursued them with small Execution; for *Cortes* did not care to expose himself to their charging him again at too great a Distance from his Quarters.

IT was known afterwards that the Cause of that Disturbance, and the Reason of this second Retreat was, that *Xicotencal*, who was a passionate, proud Man, and founded his Authority upon the Patience of those under his Command, did, with too much Liberty, reprimand one of the principal *Caziques*, who served under him with ten thousand Men, calling him a Coward, and Mean-spirited, for not advancing when the rest were engaged; which the other returned with so much Boldness, that it came to a Breach, and a personal Challenge between them; and in a short Time it became the Cause of the whole Body of Troops under the *Cazique's* Command, who espoused the Quarrel of their Chief, and prepared for his Defence; with which Example other *Caziques*

qués who were his Friends, mutinied; and taking a Resolution of withdrawing their Troops from an Army, where their Valour was so little regarded, they put it in Execution with much Celerity and Displeasure, that they put all the rest into Disorder; and *Xicotencal* being sensible of his Weakness, endeavoured only to secure himself, leaving the Field and the Victory to his Enemies.

It is not our Intention to relate this so favourable Success, and so opportune to the *Spaniards*, as a Miracle; on the contrary, we confess, that the Disagreement of those Caciques was casual, and might easily happen when a General commanded of so little Temper, and with so little Superiority over the Confederates of his Republick; but whoever will consider this powerful Army of *Barbarians*, overthrown and broken to Pieces a first and second Time, (a Work superior to any human force) must acknowledge in those very Casualties the Hand of God, whose ineffable Wisdom is wont to bring about his high Designs by what Men call Contingencies, making use very often of that which he permits, to accomplish that which he has ordain'd.

GREAT was the Number of the *Indians* killed upon this Occasion, and much greater that of the wounded, (as they themselves did afterwards relate). On our Side only one Soldier was killed, and twenty wounded, but so lightly, that they were able to mount Guard that Night. But notwithstanding this Victory

was so great, and so much more wonderful than the last, (for they engaged with a greater Army, and the Enemy retired overthrowing yet the Novelty of having been broke and put into Disorder in the Battle, made such an Impression upon some of the *Spanish* Soldiers, that they returned to their Quarters melancholy and dishearten'd, like Men who had been vanquish'd. There were very many who plainly declar'd That they would not wilfully throw themselves away for *Cortes's* Humour; that he ought to think of returning to *Vera Cruz*, for that it was impossible to advance any farther; or that otherwise they would do it themselves leaving him alone to his Ambition and Temerity. *Hernan Cortes* was informed of this and retired to his Tent, without endeavouring to reduce them, till they were recovered from that Fright, and had Time to be sensible how much they were mistaken in what they proposed: For in Distempers of this Kind, hasty Remedies rather irritate than correct; Fear in Men being a violent Passion, which Reason at the first cannot govern.

C H A P. XIX.

Hernan Cortes stills the new Disturbance among his Men. The People of Tlascala take the Spaniards for Enchanters. They consult their Magicians; and by their Advice attack them by Night in their Quarters.

THE Disturbance among the Malecontents increased; and the Diligence of the Captains, together with the contrary Opinion of the better Sort, not being sufficient to reduce them, *Hernan Cortes* found it necessary to shew himself, and endeavour to bring them to Reason. To which End, he order'd all the *Spaniards* to assemble in the Place of Arms, upon Pretence of coming to a Resolution upon the present State of Affairs; and placing near himself the most Mutinous, (a sort of Favour necessary for their better hearing) "It allows," says he, of no great Dispute, what our Army "is to do, having gained in a short Time two " Battles, in which your Valour, and the " Weakness of your Enemies, have equally " appeared. It is true, the overcoming an " Enemy is not the finishing Stroke of a War; " for the improving a Victory has also its Difficulties: And we must always be aware of " those Dangers that oftentimes attend good " Success, as a kind of Tax upon human Felicity. But this, my Friends, is not what " gives

“ gives me Trouble : I stand in Need of your
 “ Advice upon a greater Doubt. They tell
 “ me, that some of our Soldiers are again de-
 “ sirous, and stir up one another to propose
 “ that we should retreat. I am willing to be-
 “ lieve they ground this Opinion upon some
 “ good Reason ; but it is not right, that
 “ Point of so much Importance should be
 “ treated in a murmuring Manner. Tell all
 “ your Opinions freely ; do not discredit what
 “ you earnestly desire, by proposing it in a cri-
 “ minal Way. And, that we may all reason
 “ upon that which is most convenient for us
 “ all, let us first consider the Condition in
 “ which we are, and resolve at once upon
 “ something which cannot be contradicted.
 “ This Enterprize was begun with your Ap-
 “ probation, I may say, with your Applause.
 “ Our Resolution was to pass on to the Court
 “ of *Moteczuma*. We all devoted ourselves
 “ to this Undertaking for our Religion, and
 “ our King, as also for our Honour, and our
 “ Hopes. These *Indians* of *Tlascala*, who
 “ endeavoured to oppose our Design with all
 “ the Power of the Republick, and its Con-
 “ federates, are now overthrown and conquer’d.
 “ It is not possible, (according to the natural
 “ Course of Things) that they should delay
 “ long to request Peace, or grant us Passage.
 “ If this happens, how greatly will it add to
 “ our Reputation ? What will these *Barba-
 “ rians* conceive of us, who already rank us
 “ with their Gods ? *Moteczuma*, who expected

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“ us with Concern, (as has appeared by the
“ Repetition and Artifice of his Embassies)
“ will behold us with greater Terror, after
“ having vanquished the *Tlascalans*, who are
“ the most valiant Men of the Country, and
“ have by Force of Arms maintain'd their Li-
“ berty against him. It is very possible, that
“ he will make us advantageous Offers, fearing
“ lest we should join with his Rebels; and very
“ possible, that this same Difficulty, we now
“ meet with, may be the Means which God
“ makes use of to facilitate our Undertakings,
“ by making Tryal of our Constancy; for he
“ will not work Miracles for us, without making
“ use both of our Hearts and Hands. But if
“ we should turn our Backs, (and be the first
“ that have been discouraged by Victories) all
“ our Labour is lost at once: What can we
“ hope for? Or what is it that we ought not to
“ fear? These very vanquish'd People, that are
“ now terrify'd, and fugitive, will be animated
“ at our being dishearten'd, and knowing all
“ the short Cuts and difficult Passages of the
“ Country, they will pursue, and break us in
“ our March. Our *Indian* Friends (who stand
“ by us contented and courageous) will quit us,
“ and escape to their own Country, publish-
“ ing our Disgrace. The *Zempoalans* and *To-*
“ *tonaques*, our Confederates, (who are our
“ only Refuge in the Retreat) will conspire
“ against us, losing the great Opinion they had
“ of our Power. I repeat it again, let every
“ Thing be maturely consider'd; and com-

“paring the Hopes which we abandon, with
 “the Dangers to which we expose ourselves,
 “propose and deliberate what will be most
 “convenient; for I leave you to your full Liberty
 “of Discourse, and have laid before you
 “these Inconveniencies, rather to free my Opinion
 “from Blame, than defend it.”

SCARCELY had *Hernan Cortes* finish'd his Discourse, when one of the dissatisfy'd Soldiers, convinced by his Reasons, rais'd his Voice, telling the rest, “Friends, our Captain asks
 “what we are to do, but instructs us while
 “he is asking: It is not possible for us to
 “retire now, without being lost.”

THE rest were convinced, confessing their Error, and the other Part rejoiced at their being undeceiv'd; and it was resolv'd, by Acclamations, to prosecute the Enterprize; the Difficulties of those Soldiers who were desirous of finding Rest in the Isle of *Cuba* being at that Time entirely pacify'd, whose Unreasonableness was one of the Difficulties which did most trouble the Mind, and exercise the Constancy of *Cortes* in this Enterprize.

THIS second Rout of their Army caused an unusual Trouble in *Tlascala*: They all admir'd, and were confounded. The common People cried out for Peace; and the Nobles were unable to carry on the War. Some propos'd to retire to the Mountains with their Families; others said the *Spaniards* were Deities, inclining to pay them Obedience with Circumstances of Adoration. The Senate assembled to consult
 how

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how to restore their Affairs: And beginning to argue from their own Fear, they all confessed, that the Force of those Strangers appeared to be more than natural: But they were not fully persuaded they were Gods, esteeming it too great a Lightness to conform their Opinions to the Credulity of the Vulgar; but were rather inclin'd to believe, that they perform'd such wonderful Actions by magical Art. And coming to a Resolution, that they ought to have Recourse to the same Science, in order to overcome them, and so take off the Force of one Enchantment with another, they summoned their Magicians and Diviners for this Purpose, whose Delusions were much introduced by the Devil in that Country, and no less revered. The Opinion of the Senate was communicated to them, which they approv'd of with mysterious Consideration; giving them to understand, "That they knew what Doubt they had to
"propose, and had beforehand studied the
"Case; telling them, That by the Observation
"of their Circles, and by their Divinations,
"they had fully discover'd the Secret of this
"Novelty; and that the Whole consisted, in
"that the *Spaniards* were the Offspring of
"the Sun, produced by his own active Quality
"in the Mother-Earth of the Oriental Regions,
"their greatest Enchantment being the Presence of their Father, whose warm Influence
"did communicate unto them a kind of Force
"superior to human Nature, and made them
"immortal; but that upon his disappearing in
"the

“ the West, the Influence ceased, and they
 “ remained dishearten’d and wither’d, like the
 “ Herbs of the Field, reduced to the Terms of
 “ Mortality, like other Men; for which Con-
 “ sideration it was necessary to attack them by
 “ Night, and destroy them before the rising
 “ Sun made them invincible.”

THOSE Senators very much applauded the
 great Knowledge of the Magicians, being sa-
 tisfy’d that they had found out the difficult
 Point, and discover’d the Way to obtain Victory.
 It was contrary to the Custom of this Country
 to engage by Night; but as in extraordinary
 Cases little Respect is had to Custom, this im-
 portant News was sent to *Xicotencal*, with
 Orders to attack the *Spaniards* in their Quar-
 ters on the Setting of the Sun, endeavouring
 to destroy and make an End of them before
 he should return to the East. Accordingly
 he began to dispose every Thing for the Action,
 believing (with some Excuse) the Imposture of
 the Magicians, as coming to him authorized
 by the Opinion of the Senate.

DURING this Interim of Time, the *Spaniards*
 had several Rencounters of little Con-
 sequence. Some Troops of the Enemy shewed
 themselves on the Eminences near the Quarters,
 who either fled before the *Spaniards* could
 engage them, or were beat off with Loss.
 They made some Sallies to raise Contributions
 from the neighbouring Villages, where they
 used the Inhabitants well, and gained both their
 good Wills and Provisions. *Cortes* took special
 Care

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Care to preserve Discipline, and keep his People vigilant, during this Time of Rest in their Quarters. He always had his Centinels posted at a Distance, his Guards mounted with the utmost military Strictness; the Horses stood saddled all Night, with their Bridles upon the Pummels; the Soldiers either watch'd, or, if they rested, lay upon their Arms. An Exactness which seems superfluous to the Negligent, but then prov'd very necessary; for at the coming on of the Night destin'd for the Attack resolv'd on by the *Tlascalans*, the Centinels discover'd a Body of the Enemy marching towards their Quarters with unaccustom'd Slowness and Silence. Notice was given of it without any Noise; and as the Soldiers were always prepar'd for such Accidents, they immediately mann'd the Works, and with great Readiness dispos'd every Thing that appear'd necessary for their Defence.

XICOTENCAL upon the Credit of his Magicians came on insensible of Danger, thinking to find his Enemies without Spirit or Strength, and to end the War before the Sun should know any thing of it; but he brought with him ten thousand Men, lest they should happen not to be dispirited by the Absence of their Father. The *Spaniards* let him draw near, without making any Motion; and he gave Orders to attack the Quarters on three Sides; which the *Indians* executed with Speed and Resolution; but they met with such a powerful and unlook'd-for Resistance, that many died in
the

the Attack, and the rest were struck with the more Fear, by how much the greater had been the Security with which they came. *Xicotencal* was sensible (tho' late) of the Delusion of his Sorcerers, and of the Difficulty of his Undertaking; but his Anger and Courage would not let him consider, and therefore he gave Orders for another Attack to be made on all Sides, and he return'd to the Assault, pouring the whole Body of his Troops upon our Defences. We cannot but acknowledge the Valour with which the *Indians* try'd this Way of Fight in the Night, and against a Fortification, a Thing altogether new in their Way of making War. They helped one another with their Shoulders and Arms to gain the Wall, and received Wounds, which they made larger by their own pressing forward; and the foremost falling, did not in the least terrify those who came behind. The Combat lasted a long Time, their own Disorder endamaging them no less than our Arms; till *Xicotencal* being convinc'd that it was not possible for him to compass what he intended, order'd the Signal to be given for drawing off, and thought of retreating. But *Hernan Cortes* (who had a watchful Eye over all,) as soon as he found them slackening, and saw that they return'd in Heaps from the Wall, sent out Part of his Foot, and all his Horse, which were ready prepared, with Breast-plates full of Bells, that by the Novelty of the Noise they might strike the greater Terror: Which sudden Assault put the
Indians

Indians into such a Fright, that they endeavoured only to escape, without making any Resistance. They left a considerable Number of Dead in the Field, with some Wounded, which they could not carry off; and of the *Spaniards* only two or three were wounded, and one *Zempoalan* kill'd: An Event that seem'd miraculous, considering the innumerable Multitude of Arrows, Darts, and Stones, which they found within their Intrenchments; and a Victory, which for the Easiness and small Expence wherewith it was gained, was celebrated among the Soldiers with particular Demonstrations of Joy; though at that Time they were not sensible how much it imported them to have been valiant in the Night, nor of the Obligations they lay under to the Magicians of *Tlascala*, whose Folly was of Use in this Work; for it raised the Reputation of the *Spaniards* to the highest Pitch, and facilitated a Peace, which is the best Advantage of War.

C H A P. XX.

The Senate commands the General to suspend the War: He refuses to obey; but on the contrary, designs to give a fresh Assault upon the Spanish Quarters. His Spies are discovered and punish'd. A Treaty of Peace begins to be set on Foot.

THE great Hopes which the City had conceived, without any other Reason, than that of trusting the Success of their Arms

to the Favour of the Night, being vanish'd, the Common People again called out for Peace; the Nobles were dissatisfy'd, and came now into the same Sentiments with the Populace, though they made less Noise: The Senators were dishearten'd and silent; and the first Thing they did, was to punish their Magicians for their own Folly, not so much because Deceit in them was a new Thing, but because they were ashamed they had believed them. Two or three of the chiefest of them were sacrificed in one of their Temples; the rest were reprimanded, and found themselves obliged to lye with less Liberty in that Assembly.

AFTER that, the Senate met to consult about the principal Affair, and all, without Exception, inclined to Peace; granting that the Judgment of *Magiscatzin* had foreseen what had befallen them, and the most Incredible confessing, that those Strangers were, without Doubt, the Celestial Men mentioned in their Prophecies. The first Resolution was to dispatch an Express immediately to *Xicotencal*, with Orders to suspend the War, and only keep himself upon his Guard; acquainting him, that they were treating for a Peace, which was already resolved on the Part of the Senate, and that they would immediately name Ambassadors to propose it, and to make the best Terms they could in Favour of the Republick.

HOWEVER, *Xicotencal* was so obstinately bent against the *Spaniards*, and so far blinded by his Martial Employment, that he utterly denied

denied Obedience to this Order, and answered, with Arrogance and Disrespect, *That he and his Soldiers were the true Senate, and would take Care of the Credit of their Nation, since the Fathers of the Country abandoned it.* He had disposed Matters so as to assault the *Spaniards* a second Time by Night, and within their Quarters; not that he made any Account of the past Divinations, but because he thought it better to keep them shut up, that they might come alive into his Hands. But he intended to go upon this Undertaking with a greater Force, and better Intelligence; and knowing that some Peasants of the adjacent Villages repaired to the Quarters with Provisions, to exchange them for *Spanish* Baubles, he made use of this Means to facilitate his Enterprize; and chose forty Soldiers in whom he confided, who, cloathed after the Manner of Peasants, loaded with Fruit, Hens, and Bread made of *Indian* Corn, were to enter the Place, and observe the Nature and Strength of the Fortification, and where it might be assaulted with least Difficulty.

SOME say, that these *Indians* were sent as Ambassadors from *Xicotencal* himself, with feigned Proposals of Peace (in which Case the Inadvertency of our People would be more culpable). But whether the Pretence was this, or the other, they entered within their Quarters, and were among the *Spaniards* great Part of the Morning, without any Notice being taken of their Stay, till a *Zempoalan* Soldier observ'd,
that

that they went slyly about, observing the Walls and looking over them in a curious Manner of which he presently gave Notice to Cortes. And as in this Kind of Suspensions, there is no Sign which is trivial, or Shadow that has not a Body, he order'd them to be seized immediately; which was easily executed. Being examin'd separately, they confessed the Truth without much Resistance, some pressed by Torture, and others by the Fear of it; all agreeing that a second Assault was to have been made on the Quarters that same Night; for which Undertaking their General was now upon the March with twenty thousand Men, and was to wait for them at a League's Distance, in order to dispose his Attacks, according to the Account they should bring him of the Weaknesses they had observed in the Works.

HERNAN CORTES was much concern'd at this Accident, for he was then indispos'd; and it cost him more Trouble to conceal his Sickness, than to bear it: But he never kept his Bed, or took Care of himself, but when he had nothing else to take Care of. It is reported of him, (we will not pass it by in Silence) That just before one of the Engagements with the *Tlascalans*, he had taken Physick; and that he mounted his Horse, made a Disposition of the Battle, and engaged without finding the least Disorder, or thinking on the Purge, the which, by that Diversion of his Mind, was depriv'd of its active Quality, and had not the Effect until the next Day. Father

Don

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Don Prudencio de Sandoval, in his History of the Emperor *Charles V.* looks upon it as a Miracle which God wrought on him: A Notion which Philosophers will dispute, to whose Profession it belongs to shew how, in this Case, the natural Faculty may be so far influenc'd by the Imagination, busied in greater Matters, as to cease performing its Function; or how the Spirits, gathering about the Heart and the Head, draw after them that natural Heat which should put the Medicine in Motion. Such an Accident, however, ought not to be omitted by an Historian, as serving to shew how much this Commander gave himself up to the vigilant Care of what he was to direct and order in the Battle: An Employment which, in Truth, requires the whole Man, as great as he can be; and these Considerations are sometimes permitted in History, as proposing Examples, which animate to an Imitation.

THE Designs of *Xicotencal* being now discover'd by the Confession of his Spies, *Hernan Cortes* gave the necessary Orders for the Defence of his Quarters; and immediately consider'd on the Punishment those Delinquents deserv'd, being already condemned to Death by the Laws of War. But he thought, that to kill them without the Knowledge of the Enemy, would be Justice without Terror: And as he did not so much want to satisfy himself, as to terrify them, he gave Orders, that the most obstinate of them (which were

fourteen or fifteen) should have some the Hands, and the rest their Thumbs cut off; and in this Manner dismissed them, bidding them tell *Xicotencal* from him, that he was now waiting for him; and that he sent them alive that he might not lose the Informations they carry'd of his Fortifications.

THE *Indian* Army (that was now marching to the Enterprize) was struck with Horror at this bloody Spectacle: They stood astonish'd, as well at the Novelty, as at the Rigour of the Punishment; and *Xicotencal* more than all the rest at the Discovery of his Designs; this being the first Stroke which touch'd his Mind, and began to stagger his Resolution; for he was persuaded that those Men could not have discover'd his Spies, and penetrated his Thoughts, without the Help of some Divinity: On which Reflection he began to be troubled, and doubtful which Way he should manage; but when he was now inclin'd to resolve on a Retreat, he found it necessary, by another Accident; and that which his Obstinacy refused, was now done without his Consent: For at this Time several Ministers arriv'd from the Senate, who, by their Authority, inform'd him, that he must deliver up his Staff of General; for that by reason of his Disobedience, and the Insolence of his Answers, they had revoked the Power, by Virtue of which he commanded the Arms of the Republick. They also order'd the Captains not to obey him, upon Pain of being

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ing declar'd Traytors to their Country. Now this News came immediately on the Back of that Confusion which the dismembring of the Spies had caused in all, and in *Xicotencal* the Penetration of his Secret, no Man was so bold as to reply; but, on the contrary, all submitted themselves to the Commands of the Republick; and the Forces, prepar'd for carrying on the War, dispers'd with extraordinary Readiness; the Caziques marched to their own Lands; the *Tlascalans* took the Road to the City, without expecting farther Orders; and *Xicotencal*, who was now less resolute, thought himself happy, that they had taken the Command out of his Hands, and return'd to the City attended only by his Friends and Relations; where he appear'd before the Senate, ill covering his Vexation with this Shew of his Obedience.

THE *Spaniards* were that Night upon the Watch, and rested the next Day without being negligent; for they were not well assured of the Intention of the Enemy, tho' the *Indians* that were brought under Contribution affirmed, that the Army was broke up, and a Treaty of Peace resolv'd on. They continu'd thus in Suspense till the next Day in the Morning, when the Centinels discover'd a Troop of *Indians*, who seem'd to them to come with Burdens on their Backs along the Road of *Tlascala*. *Hernan Cortes* order'd the Centinels to retire to the Place, and let them draw near. At the Head of this Troop came

four Persons of Rank well adorn'd, whose Habit and white Feathers denoted Peace: Behind them came their Servants; and after them twenty or thirty *Indian* Tamenes loaded with Provisions. From time to time they stopp'd as fearful to approach, and made Signs of Respect and Humility towards the Quarters. They bowed their Bodies till they touch'd the Earth with their Hands, and then rais'd themselves, putting them to their Lips; a Respect they only shew'd to their Princes; and being come nearer, they paid their last Homage with the Smoak of their Censers. The *Donna Marina* appear'd upon the Wall, and asked them in their Language, From whom and for what Purpose they came? They answer'd, From the Senate and Republick of *Tlaxcala*, and to treat of Peace. Upon which they were permitted to enter.

HERNAN CORTES receiv'd them with proper State and Gravity, and they repeating their Bows and Perfumes, deliver'd their Embassy, which consisted of several Excuses for what had passed, frivolous, but sufficient in the main to shew their Repentance. They said, " That the *Otomies* and *Chontales*, barbarous Nations of their Confederacy, had assembled their Troops, and made War contrary to the Opinion of the Senate whose Authority had not been able to repress the first Sallies of their Fierceness; but that they were now disarm'd, and the Republick very desirous of Peace: That

" they

they did not only bring with them the Voice of the Senate, but of the Nobles and Common People, to request that they would march presently with all their Soldiers to the City, where they might stay as long as they pleased with Security, and where they should be served and respected as Children of the Sun, and Brothers of their Gods." And thus they concluded their Discourse, without being able handsomely to cover their Artifice in what related to the past War, but with some Shew of Sincerity in their Proposition of Peace.

HERNAN CORTES a second Time affected Severity; and restraining his inward Complacency from appearing on his Countenance, only answer'd, " That they should understand, and tell the Senate from him, that it was no small Demonstration of his Goodness to admit and hear them, when they might justly fear his Indignation as Delinquents, and ought to receive Laws, as vanquish'd : That the Peace they proposed was agreeable to his Inclination; but that they sought it after too unjust and obstinate a War to obtain it easily, or suddenly : That he would see how they persevered in desiring it, and what they did to deserve it : And in the mean Time, he would endeavour to appease the Anger of his Captains, and sooth the Justice of his Arms; suspending the Punishment with an up-lifted Arm, that they might, with their Amendment,

“ make use of what Time there was between
“ the Threat and the Blow.”

CORTES answer'd them in this Manner, to gain some Time to recover of his Indisposition, and to inquire better into the Sincerity of their Proposal : For which End he thought it necessary, that those Messengers should return doubtful of the Success of their Negotiation, lest the Senate should grow proud and backward, by finding him very easy, or desirous of the Peace; for in this sort of Affairs that which seems the farthest Way about, is often the shortest Cut; and Difficulties well managed, are better than Expedition.

C H A P. XXI.

New Ambassadors come from Motezuma to the Spanish Quarters, to obstruct the Peace with Tlascala. The Senate perseveres in desiring it ; and Xicotencal takes upon himself the Negotiation.

THE Fame of the *Spaniards* increas'd with these Victories; and *Motezuma*, who had frequent Accounts of what passed in *Tlascala*, by the Observation of his Ministers, and the Diligence of his Couriers, began to be more apprehensive of his Danger, when he saw that warlike Nation, which had so often resisted his Armies, subdu'd and vanquish'd by

to small a Number of Men. He greatly admired the Actions which were reported of those Strangers; and feared, that when once the *Tlascalans* were reduc'd to their Obedience, they might make use of their Rebellion, and of their Arms, and aim at greater Matters, to the Damage of his Empire. But it is very remarkable, that in the Midst of so many Perplexities and Suspicions, he did not bethink himself of his Power, or of forming an Army for his Defence and Security; on the contrary, without attempting to assemble his People, or daring to declare War, (as if with-held by some superior Genius, that over-awed his Spirit) he made use of political Arts, and was fluctuating among gentle Means. At this Time he had in view to prevent the Union of the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*: and he did not think amiss; for where there wants Resolution, Prudence is wont to be very watchful and diligent. To this end, he resolv'd to send a new Embassy and Present to *Cortes*. The Pretence was to congratulate him upon the good Success of his Arms, and his assisting him to chastise the Insolence of his Enemies the *Tlascalans*; but the principal End was, to desire, with new Instances, that he would not think of coming to his Court, laying before him greater Difficulties, which oblig'd him not to grant Permission. The Ambassadors had secret Instructions to look into the State of the *Tlascalan* War, and endeavour (in case there was a Talk of Peace, and the *Spaniards*

seem'd inclinable to it) to divert and obstruct the Conclusion, without discovering their Prince's Concern, or quitting their Negotiation, till they had given him an Account, and waited his Orders.

FIVE *Mexicans* of the greatest Rank among the Nobility came with this Embassy; and travelling with some Circumspection on the Borders of *Tlascala*, arriv'd at the Quarters a little after the Ministers of the Republick were departed. *Hernan Cortes* receiv'd them with great Kindness and Courtesy; for *Motezuma's* Silence had given him some Uneasiness. He heard the Embassy graciously, and receiv'd the Present with Thanks (being worth about a thousand Pieces of Eight, in several Pieces of light Gold, besides other Curiosities of Feathers and Cotton); but did not give them his Answer at that Time, because he was desirous they should, before their Departure, see the *Tlascalans* reduced, and desiring Peace; neither did they solicit to be dispatch'd, because they also desired to stay there. But it was not long ere they discover'd the whole Secret of their Instructions; for they told what they should have conceal'd, by asking Questions with little Discretion; and in a short Time all *Motezuma's* Fear was known, as also of what Importance the Peace of *Tlascala* was, in order to bring him to Reason.

THE Republick, in the mean time, desiring to convince the *Spaniards* of their Sincerity, sent Orders to the neighbouring Villages to furnish

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supply the Quarters with Provisions, commanding them not to receive any Price for them; which was punctually executed, and the Army had Plenty of all Things, the Peasants not daring to receive the least Return. Two Days after they discover'd on the Road that led to the City a considerable Troop of *Indians*, who drew near with the Ensigns of Peace, of which *Cortes* being advised, gave Orders to admit them; and in order to receive them, mingled among his own Attendants, the *Mexican* Ambassadors, making a Matter of Confidence of That, which in Reality he was very unwilling they should be ignorant of. The Chief of these *Tlascalans* was *Xicotencal* himself, who undertook the Charge of treating and concluding this great Affair; whether to satisfy the Senate, by atoning with this Action for his past Rebellion, or that he was persuaded Peace was necessary, and being ambitious of Glory, did not care that the Good of the Republick should be owing to another. He was attended by fifty Gentlemen of his Party and Parentage, well-dressed after their Manner. He was of more than a middle Stature, well-made, rather lusty than corpulent: His Habit was a white Mantle, put on after a handsome Manner, with some Jewels in their proper Places: His Face was of no agreeable Proportion, but yet such as infused Respect, and more observable for its Boldness than Deformity. He came before *Cortes* with the free Air of a Soldier; and
having

having paid his Respects, took his Seat, told who he was, and began his Speech: " Confessing that he was wholly to blame for the
 " past War, believing that the *Spaniards* were
 " Favourers of *Moteczuma*, whose Name he
 " abhorr'd; but that now, as the first Witness
 " of their gallant Actions, he came with the
 " Merit of a Person submitting, to put himself
 " into the Hands of his Conqueror; hoping
 " by this Submission and Acknowledgment,
 " to obtain Pardon for his Republick,
 " whose Name, Power, and Authority he had,
 " not to propose, but with all Submission, to
 " request Peace, and to accept it upon his own
 " Terms: That he asked it once, and twice,
 " and thrice, in the Name of the Senate, Nobles,
 " and Commons of *Tlascala*, entreating
 " him with all Earnestness to honour the City
 " immediately with his Presence, where he
 " should find Quarters provided for all his Men,
 " and all the Respect and Service he could expect
 " from those who, being brave, submitted to entreat and obey: But he would
 " only pray him, (and that not as a Condition
 " of the Peace, but as an Act of his own Goodness)
 " that the Inhabitants might be well used,
 " and their Gods and Wives protected from
 " military Liberty."

CORTES was so pleased with the Discourse and Freedom of *Xicotencal*, that he could not forbear shewing it in his Countenance to those who stood by; suffering himself to be carried away by the Respect due to valiant Men; but he

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he order'd *Donna Marina* to tell him so, that he might not think it was the Proposal with which he was so much pleased; and then, resuming his Gravity, laid before him, not without some Vehemence, "how little Reason his Republick had to make such an unjust War, or he to support such a Piece of Injustice with so much Obstinacy." Upon which he enlarg'd as far as was necessary, without being tedious, and after having exaggerated the Crime, to enhance the Value of the Pardon, he concluded, "granting the Peace they desired, and promising that no Violence or Extortion should be committed by the Army in their March." To which he added, that when he went to their City, he would give them Notice of it in Time, that they might make the necessary Dispositions for his Entry and Quarters.

XICOTENCAL was much concern'd at this Delay, looking on it as a Pretence for the better examining into the Sincerity of the Treaty: And turning his Eyes upon the Audience, "You have Reason, (said he) Great *Teules*, (so they call'd their Gods) to chastise our Sincerity with your Distrust: But if it be not sufficient to gain your Belief, when the whole Republick of *Tlascala* speaks to you by me, I, who am the Captain-General of their Armies, and these Gentlemen of my Retinue, who are the principal Nobles, and greatest Captains of my Nation, will remain as Hostages for your Security, and continue
" in

“ in your Power, or be imprison’d during the
 “ whole Time you shall stay in our City.”
Hernan Cortes was much satisfy’d with this
 Offer: But as he always desired to appear su-
 perior, he answer’d, “ That there was no Oc-
 “ casion for such an Argument to convince
 “ him, that they desired that which was so
 “ much for their Interest; nor did his Men
 “ stand in need of Hostages to enter their City
 “ in Security, and maintain themselves there
 “ without Fear, as they had already maintain’d
 “ themselves in the midst of their Armies;
 “ but that the Peace remain’d firm, and secur’d
 “ in his Word; and he would march as soon
 “ as he could dispose Matters for it.” With
 this he broke up the Conference, and waited
 upon them as far as the Gate of his Quarters,
 where he again embrac’d *Xicotencal*; and
 giving him his Hand, told him at parting,
 “ That he would no longer delay the return-
 “ ing of his Visit, than only the short Time
 “ that was necessary to dispatch the Ambassa-
 “ dors of *Moteczuma*.” Which Words gave
 sufficient Life to the Negotiation, tho’ they
 seem’d to drop by chance.

HE then stay’d with the *Mexicans*; and
 they made a Jest of the Peace, and of those
 who propos’d it, proceeding so far as to blame
 (and not without a displeasing Liberty) the
 Easiness with which the *Spaniards* suffer’d
 themselves to be persuaded; and turning to
Cortes, they told him, as by way of Instructi-
 on, “ That they much wonder’d so wise a
 “ Man

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“Man should not have found out the *Tlascalans*; a barbarous People, who supported themselves more by their Deceits than their Forces: That he should look well to what he was doing; for that they only endeavour’d to bring him into a careless Security, that by the Help of that Advantage, they might destroy both him and his Men;” but when they saw that he stood fixed to his Word, declaring that he could not refuse Peace to them that desired it, nor forget the chief Aim and Intention of his Arms, they stood for some Time thoughtful; the Result of which was to desire him, (their Persuasion being now turned to a Request) that he would delay his March to *Tlascala* for six Days, in which Time the two Chiefest of their Number should go and inform their Prince of what had passed, and the rest would stay there to expect his Resolution. To this *Hernan Cortes* consented; for he did not think it proper to break through the Respect due to *Moteczuma*, but rather to wait the Success of this Expedition, which might possibly remove those Difficulties he made of suffering himself to be seen. And thus he made his Advantage of the Inclinations he found in the *Tlascalans* and *Mexicans*, and heighten’d the Importance of the Peace, causing it to be desir’d by some, and fear’d by others.

The END of the SECOND BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY
Of the CONQUEST of
MEXICO, *or* NEW SPAIN.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

An Account of the Voyage of those sent by Cortes into Spain; with the Opposition and Impediments that retarded their Dispatches.

IT is now reasonable that we return to the Captains *Alonso Hernandez Porto Carrero* and *Francisco de Montejo*, who sail'd from *Vera Cruz* with the Present, and Letters for the King; the first Account, and the first Tribute of *New Spain*. They had a prosperous Voyage, tho' they might have run a Risque by not complying literally with their Orders; the Interpretation of which very often ruins Affairs, and

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and rarely hits with the Intention of the Superior. *Francisco de Montejo* had a certain Farm allotted for his Share in the Island of *Cuba*, near the *Havana*; and when they came in Sight of *Cape St. Anton*, he proposed to his Companion, and the Pilot *Juan de Alaminos*, to put in there, and furnish themselves with some Provisions, to help them out in their Voyage: For this Dwelling being so far from the City of *St. Jago*, where *Diego Velasquez* resided, they should deviate but little from the Substance of the Order *Cortes* had given them, to keep at a Distance from *Diego Velasquez's* Government. He obtain'd his Desire, and enjoy'd the Satisfaction of seeing his Home; but ran the Risque of losing not only the Vessel, but also the Present, and the whole Business with which he was intrusted: For *Diego Velasquez*, whom his Jealousy of *Cortes* kept continually watchful, had distributed Spies among all the Habitations on the Coast, to give him an Account of whatsoever happen'd, suspecting that *Cortes* would send some of his Ships to the Island of *St. Domingo*, to give an Account of his Discovery, and ask Succour of the Religious Governors; which Application he was desirous to prevent and obstruct. By this Means he was presently acquainted with what passed in the Dwelling of *Montejo*; and in a very few Hours dispatched away two light Sailers, well mann'd and furnish'd with Artillery, with Orders to take that Ship of *Cortes* at all Risques. This was put in Execution with

with so much Diligence, that the Pilot *Alaminos* had Occasion for all his Skill, and good Fortune, to avoid the Danger which hazarded all the Advances made in *New Spain*.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO reflects with very little Reason on the Reputation of *Francisco de Montejo* (worthy of better Treatment, both on Account of his Quality and Courage). He charges him with betraying the Trust which *Cortes* had reposed in him; and says, he went ashore to his House, with a Design to set aside the Voyage, by giving *Diego Velasquez* an Opportunity of seizing the Ship: that he writ him a Letter of Advice, and sent it by a Sailor, who swam ashore; and other Circumstances without Foundation; in which he afterwards contradicts himself, by mentioning particularly with what Resolution and Activeness *Francisco de Montejo* oppos'd the Agents and Favourers of *Diego Velasquez* at the Court; but writes also, that the Envoys of *Cortes* did not find the Emperor in *Spain*; and affirms several other Matters, by which 'tis easily perceiv'd with what Facility he gave Ear to every Thing: And 'tis necessary to read his Works with Caution, where he has not been inform'd by his own Eyes. In fine, they continu'd their Course by the Channel of *Bahama*; *Anton de Alaminos* being the first Pilot who threw himself into the Danger of those Currents; and at that Time there was Occasion for all the Violence with which the Waters precipitate themselves between the
Lucaian

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Lucayan Islands and *Florida*, to pass quickly into the open Sea, and frustrate the Designs of *Velasquez*.

THE Weather favour'd them; and they arriv'd at *Sevil* in *October*, in an unlucky Conjunction; for there they found the Chaplain *Benito Martin*, who came to the Court (as we have said) to solicit the Interest of *Diego Velasquez*, to whom he had sent his Commission of the King's Lieutenant, and was waiting for a Vessel to return to *Cuba*. This Accident very much surpriz'd him, and being already introduc'd and known, he made use of this Advantage, complaining of *Hernan Cortes*, and those who came in his Name, before the Ministers of the *Contratation* (as they now call it) of the *Indies*, that is, the Directors of the Trade, declaring, " That the Ship belong'd " to his Master *Diego Velasquez*, together " with all that was in her, as coming from " those Countries which he was commission'd " to conquer: That the landing on the Pro- " vinces upon the Continent was done by " Stealth, and without Authority; *Cortes* and " those with him, having made use of that " Fleet which *Diego Velasquez* had equipped " for the same Enterprize: That the Captains " *Porto Carrero* and *Montejo* ought to be se- " verely punished, or at least the Vessel, with " her Cargo, ought to be seiz'd, till such Time " as they prov'd their Right, and the Autho- " rity of their Commission." *Diego Velasquez* had many Friends in *Sevil*; for he was

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liberal in his Presents; and this is the same thing as to have Justice on one's Side, at least in doubtful Cases, where the Judgment commonly follows the Inclination. The Chaplain's Charge was admitted, and the Vessel seiz'd, the Envoys of *Cortes* being permitted (as a considerable Grace) to resort to the King.

WITH this Permission the two Captains and the Pilot *Alaminos*, departed for *Barcelona*, believing they should find the Court in that City; but they came just as the King was gone to *Corunna*, whither he had summon'd the Estates of *Castile*, and where he had prepar'd his Navy to pass over into *Flanders*, having now been some Time press'd by the *Germans* to accept of the Imperial Crown. They did not think fit to follow the Court, to avoid being obliged to discourse in haste on a Matter of such Importance, which in the Hurry of the Journey, would make little Impression by its surprizing Novelty, and not be duly consider'd. Upon which Reflection they took the Road of *Medellin*, with a Design to visit *Martin Cortes*, and try if they could persuade him to go with them to the Presence of the King, and authorize by his grey Hairs the Instances of his Son. They were receiv'd by that venerable old Man with all the Tenderness they could expect from a troubled and disconsolate Father, who had already bewail'd the Death of a Son, in whom now he found, together with the News of his Life, as much to

admire

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admire in his Actions, as to celebrate in his Fortune.

HE determin'd to go presently with them; and being inform'd that the Emperor (for so we shall call him now) would make some Stay in *Tordesillas* to take Leave of his Mother, the Queen *Donna Juana*, and dispatch some Affairs relating to his Journey, they there attended his Coming, and had their first Audience, being favour'd by an opportune Accident; for the Ministers at *Sevil* not daring to detain, by way of Embargo, what came on account of the Emperor, it happen'd that *Cortes's* Present, and the *Indians* of the new Conquest, arriv'd at the same Time. This occasion'd the surprizing things which they related to be the better heard; for those Curiosities of Gold, valuable for the Art, as well as Matter, the curious fine Works of Feathers and Cotton, and those rational Creatures of such extraordinary Physiognomy, that they looked like Men of another Species, were so many other Testimonies to make their wonderful Account believ'd.

THE Emperor heard them very graciously; and the first Motion of his Royal Mind was to turn to God, and give him humble Thanks, that new Kingdoms were discover'd in his Time, where he might introduce his holy Name, and spread the Gospel. He had several Conferences with them, and inform'd himself very carefully of the Affairs of that new World, of the Dominions and Forces of *Mo-*

tezuma, and of the Quality and Capacity of *Cortes*. He asked the Pilot *Alaminos* some Questions concerning the Navigation, and order'd the *Indians* should be carried to *Seville* that they might preserve their Healths better in a more temperate Climate; and by what could be gather'd at that Time of his good Disposition to encourage that Undertaking, his Resolves would have been short and favourable if he had not been taken up with other Affairs of the utmost Importance.

THERE came Letters every Day from the Cities, with Propositions little respectful. *Castile* complained that her Cortes were oblig'd to assemble in *Galicia*; the Kingdom was jealous of the King's Regard for the Empire: their Professions of Obedience were mixed with Protestations; and, in short, by little and little, the Seed of Rebellion began to take Root among the People. They all loved the King, and all lost their Respect: They were troubled at his Absence, and lamented the Want of him; and this natural Love, converted into Passion, or not well govern'd, in a short Time threaten'd the Loss of his Dominion. The Emperor resolv'd to hasten his Journey, that he might be at a Distance from their Complaints; and he put it in Execution accordingly, believing he should return in a short Time, and then, without much Difficulty, correct those ill Humours he left in Motion. The Success was answerable to his Expectations: but tho' we consider the high Motives which

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which oblig'd him to take that Voyage, we cannot but acknowledge, he ran a very great Risque. And, in Truth, he considers but little his Health, who runs into Excesses, upon a Supposition that he shall find Remedies in Time of Necessity.

UPON Account of these Disturbances, the Demand of *Cortes* was referred to Cardinal *Adrian* and the Assembly of Prelates and Ministers, who were of his Council in the Government, during the Absence of the Emperor, with Orders, that after a Hearing before the Council of the *Indies*, they should take a Medium with Regard to the Pretensions of *Diego Velasquez*, and encourage the Discovery and spiritual Conquest of that Country, which now was known by the Name of *New Spain*.

THE President of this Council (which was form'd some few Days before) was *Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca* Bishop of *Burgos*, assisted by *Hernando de Vega* Lord of *Grajal*, *Don Francisco Zapata*, *Don Antonio de Padilla* of the Royal Council, and *Pedro de Martir* of *Angleria*, Protonotary of *Aragon*. The President was very well skill'd in the Affairs of the *Indies*, of which he had had the Management a long while, and all gave Way to his Authority and Experience. He openly favour'd *Diego Velasquez*, either for that the Chaplain's Reasons weigh'd with him, or else for the good Opinion he had of the Governor. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* relates the Cause of

this Partiality with a tedious Indecency. But as he only says what he heard, 'tis likely there is little or nothing in it. That which cannot be denied is, that the Cause of *Cortes* suffer'd much by what he urged against him, giving an ill Name to his Conquest, and treating it as a Crime of evil Consequence: He represented, that *Diego Velasquez*, by Virtue of the Title given him by the Emperor, was Chief of the Undertaking, and in Justice, of the Means by which it was prosecuted: He urg'd the little Reliance there was on a Man in Rebellion against his own Superior, and how much such Principles of Sedition ought to be fear'd in Provinces so remote: He protested the Damages which might ensue: And, in fine, press'd his Remonstrances with so much Vigour, that he put both the Cardinal, and those of the Assembly to a Stand. They were very sensible, that he appear'd over zealous in the Cause of *Velasquez*; yet they would not presume to determine so important a Point against so able a Minister; nor did they hold it convenient to give *Cortes* Occasion of Discontent, when he was so employed, and where they were in Truth oblig'd to him for the greatest Discovery that had been made. The Doubts and Oppositions so retarded their Resolution, that the Emperor return'd from his Journey, and other Agents arriv'd from *Cortes*, before they came to any Determination upon his Pretensions. All that *Martin Cortes* and his Friends could obtain, was, an Allow

and

ance of some Part of the Treasure for their Expences, out of those Effects which were seiz'd at *Sevil*; with which moderate Supply they were two Years in the Court, following the Councils, like unregarded Pretenders; the Interest of the Monarchy at that Time being made a private Affair, contrary to the many Instances, where private Interest is made that of the Publick.

C H A P. II.

Motezuma endeavours to break the Peace of Tlascala. The People of that Republick continue their Instances. Hernan Cortes pursues his March, and makes his Entry into that City.

DURING the six Days that *Hernan Cortes* continued in his Quarters to comply with the *Mexicans*, it was known by fresh Experience, with what Earnestness the People of *Tlascala* desir'd Peace; and how jealous they were of the diligent Negotiations of *Motezuma*. The Ambassadors, which were expected, came within the prefix'd Time, and were receiv'd with the usual Civility. There came six Gentlemen of the Royal Family, with a very splendid Attendance, and another Present like the former, but something greater in Value. One of them spoke, and (not with-

out premeditated Words, and Exaggerations) lay
 before him, "How much the supreme Emper
 " (and at the mentioning of his Name, the
 " all humbled themselves very low) desired t
 " be a Friend and Confederate of the Gre
 " Prince, whom the *Spaniards* obey'd; who
 " Majesty appear'd with so great a Lustre i
 " the Valour of his Subjects, that he foun
 " himself inclin'd to pay a yearly Tribute, d
 " viding with him those Riches with whic
 " he abounded; for that he held him in gre
 " Veneration, considering him as the Off
 " spring of the Sun, or, at least, Lord of a
 " those most happy Regions, where Light
 " first produced. But that two Condition
 " were necessarily previous to this Agreement
 " First, that *Hernan Cortes* and his Peopl
 " should make no League with those of *Tla*
 " *cala*; for that it would by no Means b
 " right, after being so much obliged by th
 " Gifts of *Motezuma*, to take part with hi
 " Enemies; and, secondly, that they shoul
 " lay aside all Thoughts of marching to
 " *Mexico*, a Design which was neither pos
 " sible nor reasonable; for that by the Law
 " of the Empire, the King could not suf
 " fer himself to be seen by Strangers, nor
 " would his Subjects permit it: That they
 " should seriously consider the Dangers
 " of both those rash Undertakings; for
 " that the *Tlascalans* were so inclined to
 " Treachery and Robbery, that they would
 " only endeavour to bring them into a
 " false

false Security, in order to be revenged, and to seize that Gold, wherewith the Emperor had enriched them; And that the *Mexicans* were so zealous for their Laws, and so stubborn a People, that his Authority would not be sufficient to restrain them; nor could the *Spaniards* have just Reason to complain of what they should suffer, after they had been so often admonished of the Danger." Thus did the *Mexican* deliver himself; and all the Embassies and Cares of *Motezuma* tended to hinder the *Spaniards* from coming nearer. After the Prelages which had happened, he look'd upon them with Horror; and feigning Obedience to his Gods, made that a Point of Religion which was only his Faintheartedness. *Cortes* at that Time suspended his Answer; and only said, " 'Twas but reasonable they should rest after their Journey, and that he would dispatch them very soon." He desired they should be Witnesses of the Peace of *Tlascala*; and likewise thought it of Importance to detain them, lest *Motezuma* should be enraged at the Account of his Resolution, and begin to put himself upon his Guard; for he knew how unprovided he was at that Time, and with what Facility he could form his Armies.

THESE Embassies, to which the *Tlascalans* attributed the Delay of *Cortes*, gave them so much Uneasiness, that the Government came to a Resolution (as the last Proof of their Affection) to go to his Quarters in the Form
of

of a Senate, in order to conduct him to the City, determining not to return till they had convinced him of the Sincerity of their Treaties and broke off the Negotiations of the *Mexicans*. The Appearance was solemn and numerous, with Ornaments and Feathers of a Color denoting Peace. The Senators were brought in Chairs upon the Shoulders of inferior Officers; and in the most honourable Rank *Magiscatzin*, (who always favoured the Spaniards) and the Father of *Xicotencal*, a venerable old Man, who had lost his Sight with Age, but without any Detriment to his Understanding; for he still preserved the Character of a wise Man among the Counsellors. A little before they came to the House where *Cortes* expected them, they alighted; and the blind Man advancing foremost, desired that who led him to bring him near the Captain of the Eastern People. He embrac'd him with extraordinary Satisfaction; then touched several Parts of him, as if he were desirous to know him, and supply with his Hands the Defect of his Sight. They all seated themselves, and at the Request of *Magiscatzin*, the blind Man spoke after this Manner:

“ Now, valiant Captain, (whether you be
 “ of mortal Race, or not) you hold in your
 “ Power the Senate of *Tlascala*, the utmost
 “ Proof of our Submission. We come not
 “ to excuse the Errors of our Nation, but to
 “ take them upon ourselves, depending upon
 “ our own Sincerity for your Forgiveness.

“ We

We were the Men who resolved upon the War; but we are likewise the Men who have determined Peace: The first was hasty, and the second slow; but Resolutions well considered are not usually the worst: On the Contrary, it requires Pains to efface that which hath been impressed with Difficulty; and I can assure you, that the very Delay hath given us a greater Knowledge of your Valour, and laid a deeper Foundation of our Constancy. We are not ignorant, that *Moteczuma* endeavours to dissuade you from our Confederacy: Harken to him as you would to our Enemy, if you will not consider him as a Tyrant, as surely he should appear, since he persuades you to act unjustly. We do not desire your Assistance against him, for provided you are not on his Side, our own Forces are sufficient; and we shall only be sorry that you trust your Security to his Offers, because we are acquainted with his Artifices and Subtilties. Here in my Blindness some Lights offer themselves, which discover to me your Danger at a Distance. Perhaps *Tlascala* shall be famous in the World for the Defence of your Cause; but let us leave your being undeceived to Time, it needs no Prophecy to explain what may be so easily gathered from his Tyranny, and our Fidelity. You have already offered us Peace; if *Moteczuma* does not hinder you, what is it that does? Why do you deny our ear-

nest

"next Requests? Why do you forbear
 "honour our City with your Presence? We
 "are come resolved at once to gain you
 "good Will and Confidence, or put on
 "Liberty into your Hands; therefore chuse
 "which of the two is the most grateful. As
 "to ourselves there is no Medium between
 "the two Fortunes, of being either your
 "Friends, or your Prisoners."

THUS did the venerable old Man conclude
 his Speech, that there might not be wanting
 an *Appius Claudius* in this Council, like to
 the Other, who made an Oration in the Se-
 nate against the *Epirotes*; and it must be con-
 fessed, that the *Tlascalans* were Men of more
 than ordinary Reason, as has appeared in
 their Government, Actions, and Discourses.
 Some Writers, ill affected to the *Spanish* Na-
 tion, treat the *Indians* as Brutes incapable of
 Reason, thereby to lessen the Glory of the
 Conquest. It is true, they admired with
 Simplicity at the Sight of Men of another
 Kind, Colour, and Habit; they beheld a
 Beard as a Thing monstrous, (Nature having
 denied it them); they gave Gold for Glass; and
 believ'd Fire-Arms to be Lightning, and Horses
 to be wild Beasts: But all was the Effect of
 Novelty, which does not lessen the Under-
 standing; for tho' Admiration supposes Igno-
 rance, it does not suppose Incapacity; nor can
 that properly be called Ignorance which pro-
 ceeds from a Want of due Information. God
 made them rational; and notwithstanding he
 permitted

permitted their Blindness, he did not the less endow them with all the Capacity and Gifts of Nature, that were necessary for the Preservation of their Species, and the Perfection of his own Work. But let us return to our Narration, lest we should do Honour to the Calumny, by being too long upon the Defence.

CORTES could not resist this Demonstration of the Senate's good Will; nor did he now hope for any Thing more, the Time offered to the *Mexicans* being pass'd: He therefore answered the Senators with much Respect, and made them some Presents, desiring by those to confirm to them the Satisfaction he received, and the Confidence he put in them. It was necessary to use some Resolution and Authority to persuade them to return; which at length he effected, after having given his Word to remove his Quarters to the City immediately, without any more Delay than was necessary to assemble some People of the neighbouring Villages, to conduct his Artillery and Baggage. They took his Word, making him repeat it to them, more out of Affection than Suspicion, and so return'd well satisfy'd, taking upon themselves the Care of sending *Cortes* a sufficient Number of *Indians* of Burden; and scarce had the Sun begun to shine the next Morning, when the *Spaniards* found five hundred *Tamemes* at their Quarters, so officious to serve, that they disputed about their Burdens, and made Pretensions to their own Labour.

PREPARATIONS were immediately made for the March; and the Men being drawn in a Body, with the Artillery and Baggage in their proper Places, they took the Road *Tlascala*, with all the good Order, Caution and Care usually observed in this little Army to which exact Discipline they owed good Part of their Success. The Fields on both Sides were filled with innumerable *Indians* who came forth from their Habitations at the Novelty of this Sight; and the Outcries and Behaviour of them were such, as might have passed for the Clamours and Threatnings of War, if *Donna Marina* had not acquainted the *Spaniards*, that they were accustomed to that Manner to express their Joy upon the Festivals; and that celebrating, after the Fashion, the Happiness they had obtained, they blest and praised their new-acquired Friends with which Information the Noise was the better borne: Patience being necessary at that Time to suffer Applause.

THE Senators came a considerable Way out of the City to receive the *Spaniards* with all the Ostentation and Pomp customary upon publick Solemnities, attended by the Nobles, who thought it an Honour, on those Occasions, to assist the Ministers of the Republick. When they came up, they made their Reverences, and without farther stopping turn'd about and march'd before; signifying by this hasty Respect, how much they desired

forward the March, without detaining those they accompanied.

At their Entrance into the City, it resounded with Shouts and Acclamations, a much greater Noise than before, because mixed with the disagreeable Musick of their Flutes, Drums, and Horns. So great was the Concourse of People, that the Officers of the Senate had much Trouble to manage the Multitude, that the Passage of the Street might be left free. The Women threw various Sorts of Flowers on the *Spaniards*; those who were bolder, and less reserved, drew near, and put the Flowers into their Hands. The Priests, dragging after them their long Garments in which they sacrificed, came out with their Copper Censers, and without knowing whether they did Right or Wrong, express'd their Applause by the Smoke. They all shewed in their Countenances the Sincerity of their Hearts, but variously affected; for Admiration and Satisfaction were mix'd together, and Joy was tempered with Veneration. The Quarters provided, which contained all Things necessary for their Convenience, and good Entertainment, was the best House in the City, which had three or four spacious square Courts, with so many, and such large Chambers, that *Cortes*, without any Difficulty, kept all his People together there in one Body. He carried with him the Ambassadors of *Motexuma*, though they were unwilling, and lodged them near himself; because

because their Persons were secure under Protection, and they seemed afraid of no Violence.

THE Entry into, and last Reduction of *Tlascala*, was on the Twenty-third of September of the same Year 1519; a Day in which the *Spaniards* gained a Peace, with the Circumstances of a Triumph, so durable, and of so great Consequence for the Conquest of *New Spain*, that to this Day they enjoy several Privileges and Exemptions in that Province as a Reward of that first Friendship; an honourable Monument of their antient Fidelity.

CHAP. III.

The Description of the City of Tlascala. The Senators complain of the Spaniards going armed, being grieved at their Distrust. Cortes satisfies them; and endeavours to make them quit their Idolatry.

TLASCALA was in those Days a very populous City, founded upon four Eminences of different Largeness, little distant from each other: they ran in Length from East to West, and secure in the natural Strength of their Rocks, contain'd within them all the Buildings; forming four Commands, or distinct Wards, which were united, and had a Communication by several Streets with very thick Walls, which served as a Defence to the

the Town. These Wards were governed by our Caziques, who held them as Fiefs, (being descended from the first Founders) but depended on the Senate; in which they commonly assisted, yet under an entire Subjection to its Orders in all State-Affairs, and Appeals made to it by their Vassals. The Houses were raised moderately high, for they had no second Story: The Building was of Stone, or Brick; and instead of cooping Roofs of Tiles, they were flat at the Top with Galleries. The Streets were narrow and crooked, as the Steepness and Ruggedness of the Mountain would allow: A very extraordinary Situation and Architecture, more for Defence than Commodiousness.

THE whole Province was about fifty Leagues in Circumference; the Length, ten from East to West; the Breadth, four from North to South. A broken mountainous Country, but very fertile, and well cultivated in all Parts, where the Plenty of Streams enabled them to improve the Land. It was surrounded on all Sides with Provinces depending on *Motezuma*; only on the North, the great *Cordillera*, or Ridge of Mountains, rather clos'd them in, than divided their Limits; by whose inaccessible Craggs they had Communication with the *Otomies*, *Totonagues*, and other barbarous Nations of their Confederacy. The Towns were many, and near to each other: The People from their Childhood inclined to Superstition, and the Use of Arms; in the Management

ment of which they exercised themselves with great Emulation, whether it was the Climate or Necessity that made them valiant. They abounded in Maiz, or *Indian Wheat*; and this Grain so well answered the Labour of the Husbandman, that it gave the whole Province the Name of *Tlascala*, a Word which in their Language, signifies the Land of Bread. They had great Variety of Fruit, and very delicious; Game of all Sorts; and one of their plentiful Productions, was the *Cochinilla*, the Use of which they understood not till they were taught it by the *Spaniards*. It is likely it was so call'd from the *Coccineae* or Scarlet Grain, whence our *Grana* or Scarlet-Dye likewise took its Name; but in these Parts it is a kind of Insect, like a small Worm, which is bred and continues to the last upon the Leaves of a wild thorn Tree, which they called then the wild *Tuna* or the *Wood-Thistle*. Now they take great Care of it, as of a Fruit-Tree, as owing their greatest Commerce and Profit to the precious Dye of those Worms, nothing inferior to the Purple discovered by the Antients in the Blood of the *Murex*, so much celebrated for being us'd in the Robes of their Kings.

BUT the natural Felicity of this Country was not without an Alloy; for the Neighbourhood of the Mountains made it subject to great Tempests, horrible Hurricanes, and frequent Inundations of the River *Zahual*, which was not contented some Years with the Destruction

of

their Harvest, and taking away Trees by the Roots, was wont to endanger Houses on the Tops of Eminencies. 'Tis said, that *Zacat*, in their Language, signifies the *River of Itch*; for that those who drank the Water, or bath'd in them, were cover'd with Distemper; a second Malignity of the River. Nor was the want of Salt the least Misfortune that *Tlascala* suffer'd, which made them disrelish all their Abundance; and tho' they might have brought it easily from the Lands of *Moteczuma*, in Exchange for their Wheat, they held it less inconvenient to eat their Victuals without seasoning, than to have an open Commerce with their Enemies.

THESE, and other Observations of their Government, (which indeed were remarkable in that unpolish'd People) caus'd Admiration in the *Spaniards*, and made them act with Caution. *Cortes* dissembled his Apprehensions, but continued the Guards in his Quarters; and when he went out into the City with the *Indians*, he took Part of his Men with him, not forgetting their Fire-Arms. The Soldiers also went together in Companies, and with the same Precaution; all endeavouring to express a Confidence in their new Allies, yet after such a Manner as to have no Appearance of Carelessness. But the *Indians*, who desired the Friendship of the *Spaniards* without any Artifice or Affectation, were grieved upon a Point of Honour, that they did not lay aside their Arms; and give

entire Credit to their Fidelity; a Point which was debated in the Senate; by whose Order, *Magiscatzin* came to signify their Opinion to *Cortes*; and layed before him
 “How unsuitable those warlike Precautions
 “were in a Place, where all were subject
 “obedient, and desirous to please; that the
 “great Vigilance with which the *Spaniards*
 “lived in their Quarters, shewed how little
 “they thought themselves secure; and that
 “the Soldiers, who passed thro’ the City with
 “Lightning always upon their Shoulders
 “tho’ they did no Hurt, offended more by
 “that Distrust, than if they really committed
 “Violences.” *He added*, “That Arms should
 “be looked upon as an useless Load, where
 “they were not necessary; and appeared ill
 “among those who were sincerely Friends
 “and disarmed:” And concluded, intreating
Cortes, after a most friendly Manner, in the
 Name of the Senate, and all the City, “That
 “he would command those Precautions,
 “and disagreeable Appearances to cease,
 “which seemed to preserve Signs of an un-
 “finish’d War, or were, at least, Indications
 “of a scrupulous Friendship.”

CORTES answered him, “That he was
 “well satisfied of the Good-will of the People
 “of *Tlascala*, and without the least Suspicion,
 “that any Thing could happen in Breach of
 “that Peace, which they had so much desired;
 “that the Guards kept, and the Vigilancy ob-
 “served in his Quarters, were conformable
 to

"to the Custom of his Country, where the
 "Soldiers lived always after a military Man-
 "ner, and enured themselves in Times of
 "Peace to the Fatigues of War, by which
 "Means they learned Obedience, and were
 "accustomed to Vigilance: That their Arms
 "were an Ornament, and Part of their Ha-
 "bit, which they wore as a Piece of Finery
 "belonging to their Profession; for which
 "Reason he desired them to remain assured
 "of his Friendship, and that they would not
 "think strange of those Things which were
 "proper to the Soldiery, and consistent with
 "the Peace he had made with their Nation."

He found the Way to satisfy his Friends,
 without abating any Part of his Caution;
 and *Magiscatzin*, a Man of a warlike Spirit,
 who had in his Youth commanded the Arms
 of the Republick, was so well pleased with
 this laudable Custom, that he not only re-
 turned without Complaint, but was desirous
 to introduce into their own Armies this Kind
 of Vigilance and Discipline, which distin-
 guished and made good Soldiers.

WITH this Account the People were
 quieted, and all assisted the *Spaniards* with a
 diligent Obsequiousness, and even Servitude.
 Every Day discovered more of their good
 Will. Their Presents were many, all Sorts
 of wild Fowl, and extraordinary Fruits, with
 some Cloaths, and Curiosities of little Value.
 However, it was the best the Penury of those
 Mountains could afford, which debarred them

the Commerce of those Regions which produced Gold and Silver.

THE best Hall of the Quarters was reserved for a Chapel; in which, upon certain Steps was raised an Altar, and some Images placed with all possible Decency. The holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated every Day in the Presence of the principal *Indians*, who were silent either out of Respect, or Admiration; and tho' they were not devout themselves, they took Care not to disturb the Devotion of others. They remarked all that passed; every Thing was new and surprising to them, and caused greater Esteem of the *Spaniards*; whose Virtues they were sensible of and revered, rather for that they make themselves be loved, than that the *Indians* either knew the Names, or exercised any of them.

ONE Day *Magiscatzin* asked *Cortes* "Whether he was mortal? For (said he) your Actions, and those of your People, seem more than natural, and to have that Something of Goodness and Greatness in them, which we attribute to our Gods: But I do not understand those Ceremonies, with which you appear to acknowledge a Superior Deity for you make Preparations for a Sacrifice yet I do not perceive any Victim or Offering with which to appease the Gods; nor do I understand how there can be a Sacrifice unless some one dies for the sake of the rest." *Cortes* took hold of this Opportunity;

ity; and satisfying his Questions, ingenuously confessed, "That his Condition, and that of his People, was mortal;" for he durst not temporize with the mistaken Notions of those People, when the infallible Truth of his Religion was in Question. But he added, "That as they were born in a better Climate, they had more Understanding, and were of greater Strength than the rest of Men;" and without admitting the Attribute of Immortal, he remained with the Reputation of Invincible. *Cortes* told him likewise, "That they not only acknowledged a Superior in Heaven, where they adored the only Lord of the Universe; but were likewise Subjects and Vassals to the greatest Monarch upon Earth, under whose Dominion, they also of *Tlascala* then were; since being Brothers to the *Spaniards*, they could do no other than obey the same Prince." He immediately from that went on to discourse of the Point most essential; and tho' he spoke most fervently against Idolatry, finding in his own good Sense, sufficient Foundation to oppose and destroy the Multiplicity of their Gods, and the abominable Horror of their Sacrifices; yet when he came to touch upon the Mysteries of Faith, he thought they deserved a better Expositor; and as he knew when to be silent, he then gave an Opportunity to Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* to speak. That Religious Person endeavoured to bring them by Degrees to the Knowledge of the Truth, explaining like a learned and prudent Man

the principal Points of the Christian Religion after such a Manner, that he might gain their Will, without overcharging the Understanding; for 'tis by no Means convenient to strike with a Blaze of Light upon the Eyes of those who are just come out of Darkness. *Martinez*, and the rest who attended him, gave at that Time but very small Hopes of their being reduc'd; saying, "That the God whom the *Spaniards* adored, was very great, and perhaps greater than theirs; but that each of them was powerful in his own Dominion; That, with them, there was need of one God against Lightning and Tempests of another, for Water and Harvests; of another for War; and so on for all other human Necessities: For that it was impossible for any one to take Care of the Whole." They admitted the Proposition of their Temporal Lord with more Ease; for they immediately consented to be his Subjects, and asked whether he would defend them from *Moteczuma*, placing in that the Foundation of their Obedience; but at the same Time desired him, with Humility and Earnestness, "That there might be no Mention of changing their Religion: For should it come to the Knowledge of their Gods, they would call down their Tempests, and let loose their Floods to destroy them." In such manner did Error possess them, and the Devil keep them in Fear. All that could be obtained of them at that Time, was, to lay

the Sacrifices of human Blood; for they were convinced they acted against the Law of Nature: And immediately they set at Liberty those miserable Captives which were to die at their Festivals, and broke up several Prisons and Cages where they were kept, and well fed, to prepare them; not so much that they should come decent to the Sacrifice as that they should not come in bad Order to the Table.

HERNAN CORTES was not satisfied with this Complaisance; but on the contrary proposed to his Men, that they should destroy all the Idols; forming a Consequence from the Action and good Success at *Zempoala*, as if it had been the same Thing to undertake such an Affair in a Town that was so much better peopled. His Zeal deceived him, and his Courage did not disabuse him. But Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* soon brought him to Reason, telling him, with a Resolution becoming his Character, "That he was not without some Scruples concerning the Violence offer'd to the People of *Zempoala*; that Persecution and the Gospel did ill agree; and, that in Effect, it would only overturn their Altars, and leave the Idols in their Hearts:" To which he added, "That the Design of reducing those Infidels required more Time, and gentle Usage; that it was no good Method of bringing them to the Knowledge of their Errors, to vex them after that Manner, which would only

“only serve to make them dislike the Truth
 “and that before the Worship of God could
 “be introduc’d, the Devil must be banish’d
 “a War of another Kind, and which re-
 “quired a different Sort of Arms.” To
 whose Persuasion and Authority Cortes sub-
 mitted his Opinion, and moderated his Zeal
 and from that Time forwards they only en-
 deavoured to gain and dispose the Minds of
 the *Indians*, by making Religion appear am-
 able in her Works, that upon the View of
 them, they might be sensible of the Difference
 and Abomination of their own Customs, and
 in these see the Deformity and Filthiness of
 their Gods.

C H A P. IV.

Hernan Cortes *dispatches the Ambassadors of*
Moteczuma. Diego de Ordaz views the
Burning Mountain of Popocatepec; it is
resolved to march to Cholula.

THREE or four Days being passed in
 these first Affairs of *Tlascala*, Cortes
 began to think of dispatching *Moteczuma's*
 Ambassadors. He had detained them pur-
 posely, that they might see those People en-
 tirely reduced, whom they accounted untame-
 able, and the Answer he gave them was
 short and artful: “That they should inform
 “*Moteczuma*

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Motezuma of what had passed in their Presence; the Earnestness and Methods by which the People of *Tlascala* had solicited Peace, and deserved it; together with the Affection and good Correspondence with which they maintained it: That now they were so much at his Disposal, and he had such an entire Command over them, that he hoped he should reduce them to the Obedience of *Motezuma*: This being one of the good Consequences which would attend his Embassy, among others of greater Importance, which obliged him to continue his Journey, and to sollicite his Goodness then, that he might afterwards deserve his Acknowledgments." With this Dispatch, and the necessary Guard, the Ambassadors immediately departed, more convinced of the Truth than satisfied with the Answer.

HERNAN CORTES found himself engaged to stay some Days in *Tlascala*, to receive the Homage of the principal Towns of the Republick, and their Confederates; which Act was made valid by a publick Instrument, and authorized with the Name of the King *Don Carlos*, already known and revered among the *Indians*, who shewed the Sincerity of their Subjection to him by the Respect they paid his Vassals.

At this Time there happened an Accident which surpris'd the *Spaniards*, and struck a Terror among the *Indians*. From the highest of the Eminences, whereon the City of *Tlascala*

cala then stood, is to be seen the Volcano of *Popocatepec*, on the Top of a Mountain, which, at the Distance of eight Leagues, rises considerably above all the rest of the Hills. This Volcano began to darken the Day, with great and frightful Flights of Smoke, so rapid and violent, that it went up a great Way into the Air direct, without giving Way to the Force of the Wind, until having spent its Fury at a certain Height, it scatter'd and dispers'd itself all round, forming a Cloud, more or less obscure, according to the Quantity of Ashes it carried along with it. From time to time, mixed with the Smoke, came forth Flames, or Globes of Fire, which seemed to divide themselves into Sparks, and probably were the burnt Stones which the Mountain threw out, or some Pieces of combustible Matter, which lasted as long as the Fire was fed.

THE *Indians* were not frightened at the Sight of the Smoke, because 'twas frequent, and an ordinary Thing in that Place: But the Fire (which rarely appeared) made them sorrowful, and put them in Fear, as a Presage of future Ills; for they apprehended, that those Sparks which were scatter'd through the Air, and did not fall down again into the Burning Mouth, were the Souls of Tyrants that came abroad to chastise the Earth; and that their Gods, when they were angry, made use of them as Instruments, in Proportion to the Punishments they designed.

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MAGISCATZIN, and some of the chief Men, who generally attended him, were entertaining *Hernan Cortes* with these wild Fancies; and he (observing the rude Notion they had of the Immortality, Rewards, and Punishments of the Soul) was endeavouring to make them sensible of the Errors with which they disfigured the Truth, when *Diego de Ordaz* came to ask his Leave to go take a nearer View of the Volcano, offering to go up to the Top of the Mountain, and examine into that great Secret of Nature. The *Indians* were amaz'd to hear such a Proposal, and endeavour'd to dissuade him from his Intention, by informing him of the Danger, saying, "That the most valiant of their Nation had only the Boldness once to visit
" some Hermitages of their Gods about the
" Middle of the Eminence; but that above
" that he would not find the Mark of a human Foot; nor were the Tremblings to be
" endur'd, or the Roarings, which forbid all
" Approach to the Top of the Mountain." The Account of these Difficulties did but make *Diego de Ordaz* the more eager; and tho' *Hernan Cortes* thought it a Piece of Rashness, yet he gave him Leave to try, that the *Indians* might see that what they thought impossible, was not so to the Courage of the *Spaniards*. So zealous was he at all times for his own Reputation, and that of his People.

DIEGO DE ORDAZ upon this Occasion was accompanied by two Soldiers of his Company,

pany, and some of the principal *Indians*, who offered to go with him as far as the *Hermitages*, very much lamenting that they were going to be Witnesses of his Death. The Beginning of the Mountain is very delightful, being beautified on all Sides with Trees full of Leaves, which, for a considerable Way, cover the Side of the Hill, and make the Ascent appear the less tedious, seeming, in a deceitful Manner, to entice, by Pleasure, into Danger. When that is passed, the Earth grows barren by Degrees, partly by Reason of the Snow, which lies all the Year in those Places, where either the Sun or the Fire does not come, and partly by reason of the Ashes, which also look white at a Distance, from the Opposition of the Blackness of the Smoke. The *Indians* stopp'd at the *Hermitages*; and *Diego de Ordaz*, with his two Soldiers, went on, climbing courageously up the Rocks, very often making use of Hands as well as Feet. But when they came within a small Distance of the Top, they felt the Earth move under them with Violence, and repeated Rockings, and heard the horrible Roaring of the Burning Mouth, which in a short Time discharged, with a much greater Noise, a vast Quantity of Fire, wrapped up in Smoke and Ashes; and tho' it went directly upwards, without heating the Air about it, it afterwards spread when it was at its Height, and came down upon the three *Spaniards* in such Showers of Ashes, so thick and hot, that they were obliged to seek

for Shelter in the Hollow of a Rock, where they were almost stifled, and desired to return. But *Diego de Ordaz* perceiving the Earthquake was over, that the Noise lessened, and the Smoke came out less thick, encouraged his Companions by his Example; for going on before them, he passed with Intrepidity to the very Mouth of the Mountain, at the Bottom whereof he observed a great Mass of Fire, which seemed to boil like something liquid, and shining. He also took Notice of the Largeness of the Mouth, which took up all the Top of the Mountain, and might be about a Quarter of a League in Circumference. They returned with this Account; and received a Welcome back from their bold Undertaking, which greatly astonished the *Indians*, and increased their Esteem for the *Spaniards*.

THIS Gallantry of *Diego de Ordaz* was look'd upon then as only a rash Curiosity; but Time made it of Importance, and every Thing served to advance this Undertaking; for the Army being in Want of Powder, (the second Time they enter'd *Mexico*, which was by Force of Arms) *Cortes* remember'd the Boilings of liquid Fire which were discovered in this Mountain, and in it found a sufficient Quantity of very fine Sulphur, for the making of Gun-Powder. On which Account this Rashness of *Diego de Ordaz* recommended itself, and became serviceable; and his Discovery was so useful in the Conquest, that the Emperor

Emperor afterwards rewarded him with some Favours, and ennobled the Action by giving him the Burning Mountain for his Arms.

TWENTY Days the *Spaniards* continu'd in *Tlascala*, partly on Account of Visits paid them by the Neighbouring Nations, and partly to satisfy the Inhabitants themselves; who agree so well with the *Spaniards*, that they endeavour'd to put off the Time appointed for removing, with various Festivals and publick Entertainments, Dances after their Manner and Acts of Agility.

THE Day being fixed for the March, there arose a Dispute about the Choice of the Road. *Cortes* inclined for *Cholula*, a City (as we have said) very large, in whose Districts the Veteran Troops of *Moteczuma* used to quarter.

THE *Tlascalans* oppos'd this Resolution, advising them to take their March by *Guaajo-zingo*, a Country plentiful and secure; for the People of *Cholula*, besides their natural Cunning and Treachery, obeyed *Moteczuma* with a servile Fear, being the Vassals in whom he most confided for their known Fidelity. To which they added, " That that City had
" the Reputation in all the Districts thereabouts, of being a Place sacred and religious,
" containing above four hundred Temples,
" with such ill-conditioned Gods, that they
" astonish'd and terrified the World with
" their Prodigies; for which Reason it was by
" no Means secure to enter their Territories,
" without

without having some Assurances of their good Disposition." The *Zempoalans*, less superstitious now by their Acquaintance with the *Spaniards*, despised those Prodigies; but were of the same Opinion, remembring and repeating the Reasons they had given at *Zotzulan*, for the Army's avoiding that City.

BUT before they came to any Resolution on this Point, new Ambassadors arrived from *Moteczuma*, with another Present, and Advice that their Emperor would now suffer himself to be visited by the *Spaniards*, and vouchsafe to receive their Embassy after a favourable Manner; and among other Things they discourf'd, of relating to the March, they acquainted him that they had provided Quarters at *Cholula*. So that now it was become necessary to march by that City; not that *Cortes* plac'd any Confidence in this unlooked-for and sudden Change of *Moteczuma*, or that such Facility, after so much Resistance, did not appear unseasonable and suspicious: But he took great Care, that these *Mexicans* should not perceive him concerned; because in their Fear he plac'd his greatest Security. As soon as the Chiefs of the *Tlascalans* understood the Proposal of *Moteczuma*, they took it for granted, that Treachery was designed at *Cholula*, and renewed their Instances, being sincerely concerned at the Danger of their Friends. And *Magiscatzin*, who had the greatest Regard for the *Spaniards*, and a passionate Inclination in particular for *Cortes*, press'd him

very much not to march to that City. Cortes who was desirous to give him all the Satisfaction he could, as being much obliged for the Care he took of him, and esteeming very much his Advice, immediately assembled his Captains, and in his Presence proposed the Question, weighing the Reasons that offered both on the one Side, and on the other; and the Resolution was, "That now they could not possibly avoid marching to those Quarters proposed by the *Mexicans*, without discovering that they were already suspicious; nor, should their Suspensions be ever so well founded, was it proper to enter upon more dangerous Enterprises, and leave Troops at their Back; that therefore it was necessary for them to go to *Cholula*, to discover the Intentions of *Moteczuma*, and give a new Reputation to their Arms by the Chastisement of his Perfidy." *Magatzin* acquiesced in this Resolution, submitting with great Docility to the superior Judgment of the *Spaniards*. But still retaining his Jealousy, which obliged him to think differently, he desired Leave to assemble the Troops of his Republick, and assist his Friends in such evident Danger; for that it was not reasonable, tho' the *Spaniards* were invincible, to deprive the *Tlascalans* of the Honour of performing their Duty. *Hernan Cortes* (notwithstanding he was sensible of the Danger, and well pleased with the Offer) was backward to admit them; for it was disagreeable

him to begin so soon to receive Succour from a Nation so lately reduc'd; and therefore he answer'd him, by making great Acknowledgments for his Care; and lastly told him, "That at the present that Precaution was not necessary;" but this he said faintly, like one who is desirous to have a Thing done, and is unwilling at the same time to be thought of: a kind of Refusal, which is little less than Asking.

CHAP. V.

They discover new Signs of Treachery in Cholula. The Army marches for that City, being reinforced with some Companies of Tlascalans.

It was most certain, that *Moteczuma*, without coming to a Resolution of taking up Arms against the *Spaniards*, contriv'd to destroy them; making use of Wiles and Stratagems rather than Force. The Answers of his Oracles had frighted him anew; and the Devil (who was much disturb'd by the Neighbourhood of the Christians) press'd him with horrible Threats to keep them at a Distance from him. Sometimes he put the Priests and Magicians into furious Agitations, that they might incense the King, and make him furious; at other Times he appear'd to him, as-

suming the Figure of his Idol, and spoke to him in Person, the more effectually to inspire him with the Spirit of Anger: But he always left him inclin'd to Treason and Deceit, without ever proposing to him to make use of his mighty Power and Force. Whether he had no Permission to use Violence, or that it is inconsistent with his Character to give good Counsel, he took him off from Ways that were generous, and discouraged him by the same Means with which he thought to animate him. On the one Side, he had no Courage to shew himself to those prodigious People; and on the other, he thought their Army too contemptible, and too small in Number, to employ openly the Forces of his Empire against them; and judging it more for his Honour to make use of Artifice and Treachery, he directed all his Application to draw them from *Tlascala*, where he could not lay his Plots, and bring them to *Cholula*, where they were already contriv'd, and ready to be executed.

HERNAN CORTES took notice, that none came from the Governors of *Cholula* to visit him; and he communicated his Observation to the *Mexican* Ambassadors, very much wondering at the Disrespect of those *Caziques* who had the Charge of providing his Quarters; who could not be ignorant, that he had been visited by all the Towns of the Country round, that were under less Obligations. The Ambassadors endeavour'd to excuse the People of *Cholula*,

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Cholula, but confessed their Inadvertency, and seemingly endeavour'd to have the Fault mended, by giving Notice of it; for it was not long before there came from that City four *Indians* ill-clothed, People of very small Consideration for Ambassadors, considering the Custom of those Nations: A Disrespect which the *Tlascalans* urg'd, as a new Sign of their evil Intentions; upon which *Hernan Cortes* refused to admit them, ordering them immediately back; saying, (in the Presence of the *Mexicans*) "That the Caziques of *Cholula* understood Civility very little; for instead of making Amends for a Neglect, they added one Discourtesy to another."

THE Day for the March came; and tho' the *Spaniards* took the Morning to draw up their own Men, and those of *Zempoala*, they found already in the Field an Army of *Tlascalans*, provided by the Senate, at the Instance of *Magiscatzin*, whose Captains acquainted *Cortes*, "That they had receiv'd Orders from the Republick, to serve under his Command, and follow his Banner in the Journey, not only to *Cholula*, but as far as *Mexico*, where they supposed was the greatest Danger of his Undertaking." They were all drawn up in Order; and notwithstanding they were very close, (according to their Discipline) they took up a great Space of Ground; for they had assembled all the Nations which were confederate with them, and got together an extraordinary Force for the

Defence of their Friends, believing that they should be oblig'd to face the Armies of *Motzuma*. Their several Commands were distinguished by the Colour of their Feathers, and the Difference of their Ensigns, Eagles, Lions, and other fierce Animals, raised on high, which, as Hieroglyphicks and Devices, had Signification, and put the Soldiers in Mind of the military Honour of their Nation. Some of our Writers enlarge so far, as to say, that the whole Gross of their Army consisted of a hundred thousand armed Men; others a more reserv'd in the Account; but, with a less Number, the Action was great in the *Tlascalans*, and is truly worthy of Consideration both for the Thing itself, and the Manner of doing it. *Cortes* thanked them, and acknowledged this Proof of their Affections with very endearing Expressions, and was forced to take some Pains to convince them it was inconvenient he should carry so great a Number, when he went in Peace; but at last he gain'd his Point, leaving them satisfied, by permitting some Companies, with their Captains, to follow him, reserving the main Body to march to his Succour when Necessity requir'd.

OUR *Bernal Diaz* writes, that he took with him two thousand *Tlascalans*; *Antonio de Herrera* says, three thousand: But *Hernan Cortes* himself confesses, in his own Relation, that he took six thousand; and he was not so lavish of his own Honour, as to make the Number greater than it was, which of Course would

would have made his Resolution the less admired.

BUT we must not pass over in Silence an Accident which deserves Consideration, and belongs properly to this Place. There remain'd in *Tlascala*, when the *Spaniards* left that City, a Cross of Wood which they had fix'd, the Day of their Entrance, on a Place both high and open to the View; and *Hernan Cortes* was unwilling they should destroy it; on the contrary, he left the Veneration of it in Charge with the *Caziques*: But it was necessary, there should be a more powerful Recommendation, to make it remain with Security among the Infidels: For scarce were the Christians out of the City, when (in sight of all the *Indians*) a prodigious Cloud descended from Heaven to take Care of its Defence. It was of a pleasing and exquisite Whiteness, and descended through the Region of the Air, till being dilated in Form of a Pillar, it settled perpendicularly upon the same Cross, where it continued more or less distinct (a marvelous Providence) for three or four Years, that by various Accidents, the Conversion of this Province to Christianity was retarded. There proceeded from the Cloud a moderate Splendor, which infused Veneration, and never mix'd with the Darkness of the Night. The *Indians* at first were much afraid, being sensible of the Prodigy, without conceiving the Mystery: But after they had better consider'd the Novelty, they laid aside their Fear, without

lessening their Admiration. They said publicly, "That that holy Sign contain'd within it some Deity, and that it was not in vain that their Friends the *Spaniards* so much rever'd it." They endeavour'd to imitate them, bending the Knee before it, and repairing thither in their Necessities, without thinking on their Idols, and frequenting their Temples much less than they were wont. Which Devotion (if we may call that so, which was indeed the Influence of an unknown Cause) increased with so much Fervour, both among Nobles and Plebeians, that the Priests and Magicians began to be jealous of their Religion, and endeavour'd several Times to pluck up the Cross, and break it in Pieces: But they always return'd frightened, without daring to tell what had happen'd to them, lest they should lose their Reputation with the People. Thus do Authors of Credit report the Matter; and after this Manner did Heaven take Care to dispose the Minds of those People, that they might afterwards, with less Resistance, receive the Gospel; as the Husbandman, before he sows his Seed, prepares the Earth to facilitate the Production.

NOTHING extraordinary happened the first Day's March; for now that innumerable Concourse of *Indians* that appeared on the Roads, and those Shouts which passed for Acclamations, were no Novelty. They marched four Leagues of the five *Cholula* was then distant from old *Tlascala*; and it was thought fit to halt

alt near the Bank of a pleasant River, to avoid entring by Night into so populous a Town. Soon after they had fixed their Encampment, and the necessary Orders were distributed for their Defence and Security, there arrived second Ambassadors from the City, People of greater Rank, and better dressed. They brought a Present of several Sorts of Provisions, and delivered their Embassy with much Ceremony and Respect. The Substance was, "to excuse the Backwardness of their Caziques, pretending that they could not wait on the General at *Tlascala*, those People being their Enemies; to offer the Quarters provided by their City, and withal, to express how much the Citizens rejoiced at their good Fortune, in deserving to entertain such Guests, so much applauded for their noble Actions, and so amiable for their Goodness." These Words were delivered with a seeming Sincerity, such as very well covered the Artifice. *Hernan Cortes* graciously admitted of the Excuse, and the Present, taking Care, at the same Time, to appear without the least Distrust; and the next Day (by the Rising of the Sun) he continued his March with the same Order, but not without some Apprehensions, which obliged him to greater Vigilance; for the City was slow in coming out to receive him, and this Remark was considerable, among other Indications. But as the Army drew near the City, with their Arms in Readiness for a Combat, the Caziques and Priests

Priests appeared, with a numerous Attendance of unarmed People. *Cortes* gave Orders to halt, to receive them, and they performed their Parts with so much seeming Reverence and Joy, that they left no room for Jealousy, at that Present, to the watchful Eye with which all their Actions and Motions were observed. But as soon as they perceived the Body of *Tlascalans* that marched in the Rear, they changed their Countenances; and among the Principal of them, there arose a disagreeable Murmur, which did again awaken the Jealousy of the *Spaniards*. *Donna Marina* was ordered to inquire into the Cause of that Novelty; and the Answer they gave by her was, "That the *Tlascalans* could not enter into their City with their Arms, being Enemies to their Nation, and Rebels to their King;" and they were very earnest with *Cortes* that they should halt, and immediately return to their Country, as Impediments to the Peace which was going to be published; and represented the Inconveniences, without receding, or being discompos'd; being positive that it was not to be allowed; yet confining their Resolution within the Limits of a Request.

CORTES was somewhat uneasy at this Demand, which seem'd reasonable, but was not consistent with his Security: He endeavoured to quiet them, by the Hopes of finding some Way to compose their Differences; and communicating the Matter briefly to his Captains, it was judged advisable to propose to the
Tlascalans

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Tlascalans to take their Quarters without the City, till such Time as he could penetrate into the Designs of the *Caziques*, or should proceed on his March. This Proposition (which seem'd to have something of Hardship in it) was carried by the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Christoval de Olid*, who made use both of Persuasion and Authority, as delivering an Order, yet engaging Obedience to it, by shewing its Reasonableness. But they were so very complying, that they cut him short, saying, "They did not come to dispute, but obey; and that they would presently make their Barracks without the Town, in a Place whence they might quickly come to the Defence of their Friends, seeing they resolved to adventure contrary to all Reason, confiding in Traytors." The People of *Cholula* were immediately acquainted with this, which they readily agreed to, both Nations remaining not only satisfied, but with some Vanity arising from their very Opposition; the one, because they persuaded themselves they had got the better, by leaving their Enemies discontented, and ill accommodated; the other, because they looked upon the Refusal to admit them within the City as a manifest Acknowledgment that they stood in fear of them. Thus does the Imagination of Men vary the Nature and Appearance of Things, which are generally valued as they are taken, and are taken as we would have them.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

The Spaniards make their Entry into Cholula; where the People endeavour to deceive them by their outward good Entertainment. Their Treason is discover'd, and the Spaniards make a Disposition to chastise them.

THE Entry of the *Spaniards* into *Cholula* was like to that of *Tlascala*: A Concourse of innumerable People, which they pass'd through with Difficulty; tumultuous Acclamations; Women that flung and presented Nosegays of Flowers; Caziques and Priests, with repeated Reverences and Perfumings; Variety of Instruments, which made more Noise than Musick, dispers'd about the Streets; and an universal Joy so well counterfeited, that the *Spaniards*, who came thither full of Jealousy, began to think it sincere.

THE City was so beautiful to behold, that it was compar'd to our *Valladolid*; situate in a Plain, on all Sides open, and very delightful. They say it contain'd within the Walls twenty thousand Inhabitants, and that the Number was greater of those who liv'd in the Suburbs. 'Twas generally frequented by many Strangers; partly as a Sanctuary of their Gods, and partly as the great *Emporium* of Merchandize. The Streets were wide, and well laid out; the Buildings greater, and of better Archi-

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Architecture than those of *Tlascala*; appearing very sumptuous, with the Towers, which shew'd the Multitude of their Temples. The Inhabitants were more cunning than warlike, Merchants and Mechanicks, abundance of People, and but few of Distinction.

THE Quarters provided were three or four large Houses contiguous to each other, which contain'd the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*; where they could both fortify themselves, as the Occasion requir'd; and as they were accustomed to do. The *Tlascalans* chose a Place for their Quarters a little distant from the Town, securing it with some Works; they form'd their Guards, and plac'd their Centinels, being now improv'd in military Affairs by the Imitation of their Friends. The first three or four Days were all quiet, and good Usage. The Caziques were punctual in paying their Respects to *Cortes*, and endeavour'd to be acquainted with his Captains. Provisions were given liberally, and in abundance; all outward Appearances were favourable, in so much that the *Spaniards* began to think that what they had heard was false, and that they had upon too slight Foundations believ'd the former Rumours; so readily dispos'd is the Mind always to make itself easy. But it was not long before the Truth appear'd; nor could those People continue in their Artifice till they had compassed what they intended: Deceitful both by Nature and Custom, but not so watchful

ful and cunning as their Dissimulation and Malice requir'd.

PROVISIONS, by little and little, grew scarce the Entertainments and Attendance of the *Caziques* ceas'd at once. *Moteczuma's* Ambassadors held private Conferences with the Priests and the People discover'd a kind of Scorn and Falseness in their Countenances. All Things gave Signs of some Novelty, and awaken'd the ill-lull'd Jealousy of the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* was contriving some Means to be inform'd of the Intentions of those People; and at the same Time the Truth discover'd itself; the Providence of God, so often known by Experience in this Conquest, anticipating all the Contrivances of Men.

AN antient *Indian* Woman of Note, who had great Relations in *Cholula*, had contracted a Friendship with *Donna Marina*: She often visited her with Familiarity; and *Donna Marina* very well deserv'd it from her, for her natural Courtesy and Discretion. She came that Day earlier than usual, and seem'd to be full of Thought and Trouble. She drew her aside privately from the *Spaniards*, and charging her with Secrecy, even by the manner of her Delivery, began to bemoan " her Capti-
" vity, and to persuade her to forsake those
" abominable Strangers, and come to her
" House, where she offer'd her Entertainment
" and Protection from the *Spaniards*." *Donna Marina*, who was ingenious enough, compar'd this Offer with the other Signs, and pre-
tending

"tending that she was under Oppression, and
 "came against her Will with those People, gave
 "readily into the Escape, and accepted of the
 "Entertainment offer'd with so many grateful
 "Acknowledgments, that the *Indian*, believe-
 "ing her sincere, discover'd her whole Heart;
 "telling her, "It was absolutely necessary she
 "should go immediately, for that the Time
 "appointed among their People for the De-
 "struction of the *Spaniards* drew near; and
 "that 'twas unreasonable so valuable a Wo-
 "man should perish with them: That *Mote-*
 "*suma* had provided twenty thousand Men
 "at a small Distance, to make sure of the De-
 "sign: That six thousand chosen Men of that
 "Number had already enter'd the City in
 "small Parcels: That Abundance of Arms
 "had been distributed among the People,
 "Quantities of Stones carried up to the Tops
 "of the Houses, and deep Trenches cut a-
 "cross the Streets, with sharp Stakes fix'd in
 "the Bottom, being cover'd at Top with
 "Earth on slight Supporters, that the Horses
 "might fall in, and be wounded: That *Mo-*
 "*tezuma* design'd to make an End of all the
 "*Spaniards*; but had commanded some of
 "them to be brought alive, to satisfy his Curi-
 "osity, and his Regard for his Gods: And
 "that he had presented the City with a Drum
 "made of Gold, curiously hollow'd, to excite
 "their Minds with this military Favour." In
 "short, *Donna Marina* (expressing how much
 "she rejoiced at the good Disposition of their
 Under-

Undertaking, and asking some Questions, one that was pleas'd with what she enquir'd after) found herself fully inform'd of the whole Conspiracy. She pretended she would immediately go with her; and under Colour of getting together her Jewels, with some other valuable Things, she found the Means of leaving her without Suspicion, and immediately gave an Account to *Cortes*. He order'd the *Indian* to be seiz'd; who, after a few Threats, between Confusion and Conviction, discover'd the whole.

SOON after came some *Tlascalan* Soldiers, dress'd like Peasants, and told *Cortes* from their Commanders, "That he should take care of himself, for that from their Quarters they had seen the People of *Cholula* carry their Women and Goods to the neighbouring Villages:" A sure Sign they were hatching some Treason. He understood likewise that they had celebrated that Morning, in the great Temple of their City, a Sacrifice of ten Children of both Sexes; a Ceremony they used when they design'd to undertake any military Action. At the same time arriv'd two or three *Zempoalans*, who going about the City, by Accident had discover'd the Deceit of their Trenches, and had seen in the Streets, on the Sides, some Works and Palisades, which they had made to guide the Horses to the Precipices.

THERE was no occasion for any greater Confirmation of the Intentions of these People:
But

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Hernan Cortes was desirous to make the Matter yet clearer, and to justify his Proceedings beyond Objection, by the Testimony of some unexceptionable Witnesses of their own Nation, who should confess the Crime. To which End he ordered the Chief Priest to be called, on whom the rest depended, and two or three more of the same Profession; Men who were of great Authority with the Caziques, and greater with the People. He examined them separately, not as one who doubted their Intention, but complaining of their Treason; and acquainting them with all the Circumstances he knew, conceal'd the Manner how he came by his Information, in order to make them admire, and to puzzle their Conceptions with the Mysteriousness of his Knowledge. They believed they were talking to a Deity, that penetrated the Secrets of Mens Hearts, and durst not carry on the Deceit, but immediately confessed the Treason with all the Circumstances; blaming *Motexuma*, by whose Order every Thing was disposed and provided. *Cortes* ordered them to be secretly imprison'd, to avoid raising any Disturbance in the City. He likewise order'd Care to be taken of *Motexuma's* Ambassadors, without suffering them to go out, or have any Communication with the People of the Country; and calling his Captains together, he acquainted them with the whole Affair, and how much it concern'd them not to let this Treachery go unpunish'd; making the Undertaking appear easy, and

weighing the Consequences with so much Energy and Resolution, that they all resolv'd to obey, leaving the Direction and Success to his Prudence.

THIS being done, he sent for the Cazique who govern'd the City, and publish'd his March for the next Day; not that he design'd it, or that it was possible; but only to streighten them in Time for what they were about to do. He demanded Provisions for the March, *Indian* of Burden for his Baggage, and two thousand Men armed to accompany him, as the *Zempoalans* and *Tlascalans* had done. They offer'd the Provisions and *Tamenes* faintly, but the armed Men which he demanded, with greater Readiness; in which their Designs and that of *Cortes* ran counter; for *Cortes* desir'd them in order to disunite their Forces, and to have in his Power a Part of the Traitors who were to be chastiz'd; and the Caziques offer'd them that they might introduce among the Troops of *Cortes* those conceal'd Enemies, and make use of them when Occasion offer'd. Both these Stratagems were founded upon Martial Reason, if those Kinds of Deceit may be call'd Reason, which War has made lawful, and Example has dignify'd.

NOTICE was given to the *Tlascalans* of all that happen'd, with Orders to be in a Readiness; and that at the first Dawning of the Day they should draw near the City, as if they were moving to follow the March; and that at the first Discharge of the Fire-Arms, they should

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should advance with all Speed into the City to join the Army, bringing with them all the People they found armed. Care was also taken, that the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans* should have their Arms in Readiness, and be acquainted with the Business they were to be employ'd in. As soon as it was Night, (the Quarters being secured by Guards, and such Centinels as the present Occasion requir'd) *Cortes* sent for *Moteczuma's* Ambassadors, and with Shew of great Intimacy, as one that imparted to them what they did not know, told them, " That he had
" discover'd, and had Proofs of a very great
" Conspiracy, form'd against him by the Ca-
" ziques and Citizens of *Cholula*: He ac-
" quainted them with what Measures they had
" taken against his Person and Army: He laid
" before them how much they had been
" wanting to the Laws of Hospitality, the Esta-
" blishment of the Peace, and the Word of
" their Prince." And added, " That he had
" not only come to the Knowledge of this,
" by his own Penetration and Vigilance; but
" that the principal Conspirators had likewise
" confessed it, and excused their Treachery
" by a greater Crime; for they had the Bold-
" ness to say they had receiv'd Orders and
" Assistance from *Moteczuma*, to destroy his
" Army after so infamous a Manner; which
" was not likely, nor could he entertain so
" mean a Thought of so great a Prince; for
" which Reason he had resolv'd to take Sa-
" tisfaction for the Offence with the utmost

“ Rigour of his Arms: That he communicate
 “ this to them, that they might be appriz’d
 “ his Reasons, and understand that he was not
 “ so much provoked by the Crime itself, com-
 “ mitted by those seditious People, as by the
 “ Circumstance of authorizing their Treason
 “ with the Name of the King.”

THE Ambassadors pretended, as well as they could, that they knew nothing of the Conspiracy, and endeavour’d to save the Credit of their Prince, following the Path which Cortes had purposely chalk’d them out to lessen the Force of his Complaint. It was not convenient at that Time to seem to distrust *Moteczuma* and make a powerful Prince, who was resolv’d to dissemble, an open Enemy : Upon which Consideration he resolv’d to overthrow his Designs, without giving him Reason to believe that he knew them ; contenting himself with punishing his Actions in the Persons of those he employ’d, and with avoiding the Blow, without any regard to the Arm that guided it. Cortes thought it a Matter of small Difficulty to break that Body of Men provided to support the Seditious, as one accusom’d to greater Deeds with a smaller Force ; and he was so far from doubting the Success, that he esteem’d it a Happiness (or, at least, he said so among his own People) to find this Opportunity of raising the Reputation of his Arms among the *Mexicans* ; and, in Truth, he was not displeased to find *Moteczuma* so much at a Loss in Stratagems ; believing that he would

scarce

scarce raise his Thoughts to very great Matters, who durst not attack him openly, and discover'd in his very Deceits the Weakness of his Resolution.

C H A P. VII.

Cortes chastises the Fraytors of Cholula ; reduces and pacifies the City ; and establishes a Friendship betwixt the Cholulans and Tlascalans.

AS soon as it was Day, came the *Indians* of Burden that had been demanded, and some Provisions ; but the former fewer in Number, and the other less in Quantity, than was expected. Afterwards came the armed *Indians*, in broken Troops, who, under Pretence of accompanying the *Spaniards* in the March, had their Counter-Orders to fall upon the Rear, when Occasion requir'd ; of whose Numbers the *Caziques* had been no Niggards, but gave another Signal of their evil Intention, by sending more than were desired. *Hernan Cortes* distributed them into the several Courts of the Quarters, where he very artfully secured them ; telling them that he was obliged to separate them, in order to form his Squadrons as he was accustomed. He presently put his Men in Order, well instructed in what they were to do ; and mounting his Horse, with

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those

those that were to follow him in the Action caused the Caziques to be called, to justify them his Resolutions; of whom some came and others excused themselves. He told them with a loud Voice, (and *Donna Marina* complain'd it with the same Violence) "That now their Conspiracy was discover'd, and their Punishment resolv'd on; by the Rigour of which, they should know how much he had imported them to maintain that Peace which they intended so treacherously to break." Scarce had he begun this Menace when they retir'd to join their own Forces flying with more than ordinary Diligence, and beginning the War with some Injuries and Threats, which were heard at a good Distance. Then *Hernan Cortes* commanded his Infantry to fall upon those *Indians* he kept divided in the Squares; and tho' they were all provided with Arms to execute their Treachery, and endeavoured to join, in order to defend themselves, they were all destroy'd with small Difficulty, none escaping with Life, but such as could hide, or fling themselves from the Walls, making use of their Agility and Lances to leap to the other Side.

HAVING secur'd all at his Back with the Slaughter of these concealed Enemies, he gave the Signal for the *Tlascalans* to move; and the Army advanced leisurely to the principal Street, leaving in the Quarters such a Guard as was necessary. He detached some *Zempoalans* before to discover the Trenches, that the Horse

might

might not be endanger'd. The *Cholulans* at the same Time were not idle; for finding themselves now engaged in open War, they call'd the rest of the *Mexicans*, and joining in a great Square, where they had three or four Temples, they placed a Part of their People on the Top of their Towers, and in the Porches; the rest they divided into several Bodies, to engage the *Spaniards*. But at the same Time that *Cortes's* Troops enter'd the Square, and the Charge was given on both Sides, the Body of *Tlascalans* clos'd with the Enemies Rear; which unexpected Accident put them in so much Dread and Disorder, that they could not fly, and knew not how to defend themselves; so that the *Spaniards* were rather encumber'd than oppos'd by their Enemies, who ran from one Danger to another with little or no Choice; People void of Counsel, who only advanc'd in Hopes to escape, and very often presented their Breasts to the Points of their Enemies Weapons, without remembring to make the least Use of their Hands. Many were killed in this sort of Engagement; but the greatest Part escaped to the Temples, on whose Steps and Terraces the *Spaniards* discover'd a Multitude of armed Men, but such as rather filled than defended the Eminences of those great Buildings. The *Mexicans* took upon them the Defence of those Places, but found themselves so encumber'd and oppress'd by the Crowd of the Inhabitants, that they could hardly turn themselves,

selves, and had scarce Room to shoot the Arrows. *Cortes* approached the greatest of the Temples with his Troops, and commanded his Interpreters, with a loud Voice, to offer free Passage to all such as would voluntarily come down and surrender; which was done the first, second and third Time; and then perceiving that no one moved, he order'd the Towers of the Temple to be fired, which, 'tis agreed, was executed, and that a great many perish'd in the Fire and Ruins. It does not appear an easy Matter to have fired those high Buildings, without first opening the Passage of the Stairs, unless *Cortes* made use of the flaming Arrows with which the *Indians* at a great Distance threw their artificial Fires; but nothing was sufficient to dislodge the Enemy, till the Attack was shorten'd by making way with the Artillery; and it was worthy of Remark, that only one, out of so many as were destroy'd in this Temple, surrender'd voluntarily to the Mercy of the *Spaniards*: A notable Proof of their Obstinacy.

THE same Method was used at the other Temples, and afterwards they rang'd thro' the whole City, which was left entirely dispeopled, and War ceased for want of Enemies. The *Tlascalans* were disorderly to Excess in the Pillage, and it cost some Difficulty to make them retire. They made a great many Prisoners, loaded themselves with Cloaths, and Merchandizes of Value; and particularly they fell upon the Magazines of Salt, of which they immediately

immediately sent some Loads to their City, considering the Necessities of their Country in the very midst of their Plunder. Above a thousand Men, Natives and *Mexicans*, were left dead in the Streets, Temples, and strong Houses. An Action well-dispos'd, and perform'd without any Loss on our Side; and, in Truth, it was rather a Chastisement than a Victory.

HERNAN CORTES retired immediately to his Quarters with the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*; and, assigning Quarters for the *Tlascalans* within the City, order'd the Prisoners of both Nations to be set at Liberty; which were indeed the principal People, whom the *Tlascalans* had preserved as their most valuable Prize. Cortes first order'd them to be brought into his Presence, and then commanding that the Priests should come forth from their Confinements, with the *Indian* Woman who discover'd their Designs, and the Ambassadors of *Moteczuma*; he made them a short Discourse, complaining, "That the People of that City had obliged him to so severe a Punishment;" and after representing to them the Crime, and assuring all, that he had laid aside his Displeasure, and satisfy'd his just Revenge, he commanded a general Pardon to be publish'd, without any Exception; and made it his Request to the Caziques, That they would endeavour to re-people the City, by calling back the Fugitives, and encouraging those to come forth who were conceal'd.

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THE *Indians* could scarce believe they were at Liberty, knowing with what Rigour they used to treat their own Prisoners; but kissing the Earth in Token of their great Acknowledgment, they offer'd, with the most humble Submission, to execute the Orders given them. The Ambassadors endeavour'd to conceal their Confusion, applauding the Success of that Day, and *Hernan Cortes* congratulated them on the same, suffering Dissimulation to take Place for the present, that he might keep them free from Suspicion, and oblige *Moteczuma*, by his outward Shew, to interest himself in the Chastisement of his own Artifice.

THE City was in a little Time repeopled for this Demonstration of setting, at Liberty the Caziques and Priests so soon, and the great Praises they gave to the Clemency of the *Spaniards* after so just a Provocation, was sufficient Assurance to the People who were scatter'd among the neighbouring Villages. The Citizens return'd immediately to their Houses with their Families, open'd their Shops, shew'd their Wares, and the Tumult was at once converted into Obedience and Security: An Action which did not so much shew the natural Facility with which those *Indians* ran from one Extreme to another, as the great Opinion they had of the *Spaniards*; for they found in the very Justification of their Punishment sufficient Reason to be secure, on their Amendment.

THE Day after the Action, *Xicotencal* arriv'd with an Army of twenty thousand Men, which, upon

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Upon the first Notice from their People, the Republick sent to the Succour of the *Spaniards*. They had kept their Forces on Foot, doubting the Success; and upon all Occasions the *Spaniards* experienced the ready Assistance of that Nation. They halted without the City, where *Hernan Cortes* visited and entertained them, with the greatest Acknowledgments for their Care and Zeal to serve him; but at the same Time prevail'd on them to return, telling *Xicotencal*, and his Captains, "That now their Assistance was not necessary for the Reduction of the City; and that having resolv'd shortly to march for *Mexico*, it was not convenient to awaken the Power of *Moteczuma*, and provoke him to War, by bringing into his Dominions so numerous a Body of *Tlascalans*, declared Enemies of the *Mexicans*." They made no Objections to these Reasons; on the contrary, they ingenuously confessed and acknowledged that they were just, offering to have Troops in Readiness, and to come to his Assistance whensoever Occasion requir'd.

CORTES endeavour'd, before they return'd, to reconcile the two Nations of *Tlascala* and *Cholula*. He set on foot a Treaty, removed the Difficulties, and, as his Authority was now well confirm'd with both Parties, he effected it in a few Days; and the Act of Confederacy and Alliance between the two Cities and their Districts, was celebrated with the Assistance of their Magistrates, and the accustomed Solemnities and Ceremonies. This was a wise Mediation;

diation; to which he was obliged, for the sake of the Conveniency of opening a Way for the *Tlascalans*, to supply him the more easily with such Succours as he should have Occasion for, and likewise not to leave this Impediment to his Retreat, in case the Success should not be answerable to his Hopes.

THUS happen'd the Chastisement of *Cholula* so much talked of in the Books of Strangers and in one of our own Authors, who by this Means obtain'd the miserable Applause of seeing himself quoted against his Country. They place this Action among the barbarous Cruelties related of the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, and enlarge very much upon it, to discredit and reflect on the Conquest. They would attribute all the Glory of our Arms to a covetous Impulse and Thirst of Gold, without remembering that we open'd the Way to Religion, with the concurrent special Assistance of the Arm of God throughout the whole Undertaking. They very much lament the *Indians*, treating them as a defenceless and simple People, that their Sufferings might appear the greater, and by a wicked Compassion shew their Hatred and Envy. The Case of *Cholula* needs no other Defence than the bare Narration: which sufficiently shews the Malice of those Barbarians, how well they knew to make use both of Force and Fraud, and with how much Justice their Treachery was punish'd. And from hence may be gather'd, with how much Passion and Partiality other Cases are related, with the same

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the Charge of horrible Inhumanity. We are not ignorant, that in some Parts of the *Indies*, Cruelties have been seen worthy Reprehension, indeed contrary both to Piety and Reason; but in what just and holy Undertaking, has it not been necessary to pass by some Inconveniencies? From what well-disciplin'd Army could those Abuses and Disorders, which the World calls military Liberty, be intirely banish'd? And what Proportion do these lesser Inconveniencies bear with the principal Point of the Conquest? Those who are envious of the *Spanish* Glory, must confess, that from this Beginning resulted, and with these Instruments was perfected, the Conversion of this Body of *Gentiles*, and so great a Part of the World, as at this Day, restored to their Creator. But to think that this Conquest of the *Indies* should not be agreeable to God, and his most high Decree, for this or that Crime of the Conquerors, is to confound the Substance with Accidents; since even in the ineffable Work of our Redemption, there is presupposed (as necessary for universal Salvation) the Malice of those permitted Sinners, who were the Instruments of working the greatest Remedy with the greatest Iniquity. The Ends of God may be known in some of his Dispositions, which carry along with them the Signals of his Providence; but the Proportion and Suitableness of the Means by which they are pursued, is a Point reserv'd to his eternal Wisdom, and so conceal'd from human Knowledge, that these

partial

partial Judges ought to be heard with Contempt, whose too refined Reasonings would pass on the World for Strength of Understanding, when, in Truth, they are no more than daring Ignorance.

C H A P. VIII.

The Spaniards march from Cholula; they meet with new Difficulties on the Mountains of Chalco: Motezuma endeavours to stop them by Means of his Magicians.

THE Day prefix'd for the March was now drawing near, when some *Zempoalans* who serv'd in the Army (whether they fear'd the Danger of marching to the Court of *Motezuma*, or that the Love of their Country weigh'd more with them than Reputation) desired Leave to return Home; which *Cortez* granted without Difficulty; thanking them for the good Services they had done him: And by this Opportunity he sent some Presents to the Cazique of *Zempoala*; recommending again to his Care, those *Spaniards* he had left in his District, upon the Confidence repos'd in his Friendship and Alliance. He wrote at the same time to *Juan de Escalante* with particular Earnestness, to send him some Meal, and Wine for the Mass, which began to grow scarce, and the Want of which would be a very great Discomfort

comfort both to him, and to all his Troops: he gave him a short Account of his Proceedings, that he might thereby encourage him to strengthen the Fortrefs of *Vera Cruz*, by additional Fortifications; not so much on account of the *Indians*, as of what might be suspected from *Diego Velasquez*, whose restless Spirit added to the General's Anxiety.

At this Time arrived new Embassadors from *Moteczuma*, who having been informed of what had pass'd at *Cholula*, was desirous to take away all Suspicion from the *Spaniards* of his being concern'd in that Affair: Accordingly, these Embassadors returned Thanks to *Cortes* for chastizing that Sedition; vainly enlarging upon the Indignation of their King, and branding those with the Name of Traitors, who had merited it no otherwise than by Obedience to his Commands. This Message was accompanied with a Present of equal Value and Pomp; and by what happened afterwards, it appear'd, that the Design of it was to make *Cortes* think himself secure, that he might be the less circumspect in his March, and fall into another Ambush, prepared for him.

IN fine, after fourteen Days Stay, during which Time they were employ'd in the Manner we have related, they began their March; and the first Night the Army quartered in a Village in the Jurisdiction of *Guajozingo*, to which the Chiefs of that Government, and of other neighbouring Towns, immediately repaired

paired with a sufficient Quantity of Provisions and some Presents of small Value, but enough to shew the Affection with which they expected the *Spaniards*. Among these People *Cortes* found the same Complaints of *Morezuma* as in Provinces more remote; nor was he sorry to see those Humours extend so near the Heart, persuading himself, that a Prince could not be very powerful with so many Marks of a Tyrant, who by losing the Love of his Vassals, is destitute of the surest Defence of a King.

THE next day they prosecuted their March over a very craggy Mountain, which joined to the *Volcano*. *Cortes* marched with Caution, having been advised by one of the *Caziques* of *Guajozingo* at parting, not to confide in the *Mexicans*, who had placed a great Ambuscade on the other Side of the Mountain, and stopped up the Royal Road, which goes down from the Top to the Province of *Chalco*, with great Stones and Trees; and had open'd and smooth'd at the Beginning another more impracticable Passage, having farther on in the Descent augmented the natural Precipices, with some they had made, that the Army by degrees might be entangled in Difficulties, and be charged on a sudden, when their Horses could not turn themselves, nor the Foot stand firm. They had reach'd the Top of the Mountain, (not without Fatigue, for it snowed and blew hard) when in the very highest Part, at a little Distance from each other, they found the two

Roads

Roads with the Marks that had been related, one stopt up, and covered; the other inviting to the View, and newly made.

ALTHOUGH *Hernan Cortes* was highly incensed to find the Intelligence of this Piece of Treachery prove true, he was so much Master of himself, that without shewing Resentment, or making any Disturbance, he asked *Moteczuma's* Ambassadors, who marched near his Person, what those two Roads meant? They answered, *That the best was levelled for him to march: The other stopt up, as more craggy and difficult.* Cortes replied, without changing either Voice or Countenance, *You are but little acquainted,* said he, *with those of my Nation; they will march in this Road that you have stopt up, for no other Reason, than its Difficulty: For the Spaniards, whenever they have it in their Choice, incline to that which is the least easy.* Then, without making any Stop, he commanded his *Indian* Friends to march foremost, and clear the Way, by removing to each Side those Obstacles to his Passage, the Artifice whereof they had discover'd to him: This was presently put in Execution, to the great Surprize of the Ambassadors; who not suspecting the Stratagem of their Prince to be discovered, believed it a Piece of Divination, and found Matter both of Admiration and Fear in the Gallantry of his Resolution. Cortes made this artful Use of the Notice he had received, to avoid the Danger, without losing his Reputation:

Nor did he care to have them think that distrusted *Moteczuma*; but dextrously disappointed his Stratagem, without seeming know it.

So soon as the *Indians* in Ambuscade perceived the *Spaniards* to march wide, and follow the Royal Road, they took it for granted that they were discovered, and began to retire in as much Consternation and Disorder, as they had been overcome in Battle: So the our Army descended into the Plain, without Opposition: They quartered that Night in some Houses on the Skirts of the Mountain, built for the Entertainment of *Mexico* Merchants, who frequented the Fairs of *Chilula*; there they secured themselves with doubled Guards, and such other Precautions as were necessary in a Country where they marched in so little Security.

MOTECZUMA, in the mean Time, disappointed by the Disappointments he had met with, lost his Resolution, and durst not make use of Force. This want of Courage made him devout: he was more conversant with his Gods, frequented their Temples, and redoubled his Sacrifices, till he had stain'd all their Altars with human Blood: His Cruelty increased with his Afflictions; and the contradictory Answers of his Idols added to his Confusion and made him entirely disconsolate: for those unclean Spirits that spoke in them disagreed in their Advice. Some bad him open the Gates of the City to the *Spaniards*, that

he might secure them all for Sacrifice, without their being able either to defend themselves or to escape: Others advised, that he should keep them at a Distance, and without suffering himself to be seen, endeavour to destroy them; and to this Opinion he most inclined: For he was extremely offended at their Presumption in desiring to enter his Court against his Will: He regarded this Obstinacy of theirs, in Contradiction to his Orders, as an Invasion of his Power, disguising his Pride under a pretended Concern for the Preservation of his Authority. But when he understood, that the *Spaniards* were already arriv'd in the Province of *Calco*, and that his last Ambush in the Mountain had no manner of Effect, he grew uneasy, and impatient to the last Degree, not knowing what Measures to take: And his Counsellors left him in the same Uncertainty as his Oracles. At last he summoned all his Magicians and Sorcerers, whose Profession was much esteem'd in that Country, and of whom many had Communication with the Devil; the want of Knowledge of the true God giving a Reputation of Wise to those Men who were the most deceived. He acquainted them what Occasion he had for all their Skill, to check the Progress of these Strangers, of whose Designs he was so justly jealous. He commanded them to take the Field, and put the *Spaniards* to flight, or stupify them by the Force of their Enchantments, and work some extraordinary Effect, as they had been accustom'd to do on

Occasions less important: If they accomplish'd this, he promised them great Rewards; and threaten'd them with Death, if they returned into his Presence without Success.

THIS Order was put in Execution with so much Zeal, that several numerous Companies of Necromancers were assembled and set out against the *Spaniards*, confiding in the Force of their Conjurations, and the Power which they believed they had over all Nature. Father *Joseph de Acosta*, and other creditable Authors report, That when they came to the Road of *Chalco*, by which the Army was marching, and there began their Invocations, and drew Circles, the Devil appear'd to them, in the Form of one of their Idols, called *Telcatlepuca*, a God malignant and terrible, from whom they supposed Plagues, Sterility, and other Chastisements of Heaven to proceed. He came like one despighted and enraged; and with his lowring angry Look, outdid the very Fierceness express'd in the Countenance of the Idol. His Garments were girt with a Rope of Wicker, which bound his Breast in different Rounds, either for the better Expression of his Anguish, or to show, that he was dragg'd by an invisible Hand. They prostrated themselves to adore him; and he, without shewing the least Regard to their Humiliations, imitated the Voice as well as he had done the Figure of the Idol; and spoke to them after this Manner: *Unhappy Mexicans, the Time is come wherein your Conjurations have lost their Force,*

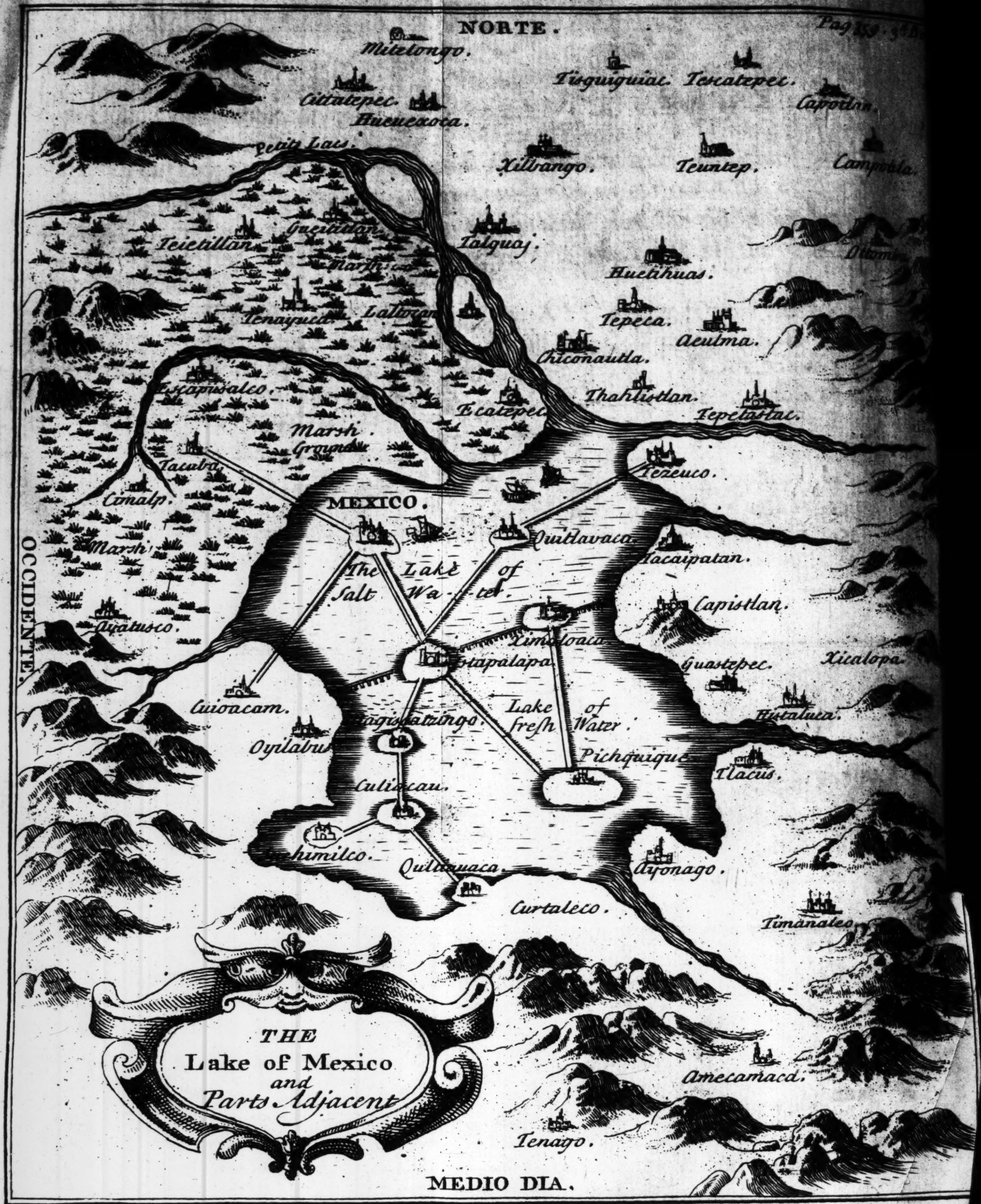
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Force, and our League is entirely dissolved. Tell Motezuma, that for his Tyranny and Cruelty, Heaven hath decreed his Ruin: And that you may after a more lively Manner represent to him the Desolation of his Empire, turn your Eyes upon that miserable City, already forsaken by your Gods. Having said this, he disappeared; and they beheld the whole City in a dreadful Flame, which lessening by Degrees, at length vanish'd, and left the Buildings untouched. The Magicians returned to *Motezuma* with this Account, which they hoped would be sufficient to acquit them, notwithstanding their Apprehensions of his Cruelty. But he was so astonished with the Menaces of this malignant and calamitous God, that he remained speechless for a while, like a Man in deep Thought; and summoning all his Spirits to his Support, and from that Instant laying aside his native Fierceness, he cast his Eyes on the Magicians, and the rest who were present: *What can we do, said he, if our Gods forsake us? Let the Strangers come, and the Heavens fall upon us: To abscond, or turn our Backs upon Misfortune, would be dishonourable.* (And a little after he added) *I only lament the old Men, Women, and Children, who cannot defend themselves.* And in making this Reflection it was with Difficulty that he with-held his Tears. It cannot be denied, but that there was something very noble in his Resolution to meet that Calamity which he now regarded as in-

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evitable; nor was it a Tenderness unbecoming a Royal Mind, which he express'd in reflecting on the Oppression of his Vassals. Such Sentiments are worthy of a King, among whose Virtues Humanity and Compassion are no less heroical than Fortitude.

THEY began from this Moment to think of the Entertainment which was to be given the *Spaniards*, and of the Solemnity and Preparations for their Reception: And from thence took Occasion to discourse on the great Actions they had done, and the Prodigies with which Heaven had prepared their Way, the Marks they bore of those Oriental Men, promised to their Ancestors, and the Despondency of their own Gods, who seem'd to confess themselves vanquish'd, and to abandon the Dominion of these Countries, as Divinities of an inferior Hierarchy. And there was sufficient need of all this Prepossession, to make it possible for such a Handful of Men to penetrate (against such obstinate Resistance) to the very Court of a Prince so potent and absolute, whose Vassals were bred up in a Dread of him, and revered him even to Adoration.



NORTE.

Pag 359.

Mitelongo.

Tisquiguia. Texatepec.

Capotlan.

Cuicuilco. Huicacoma.

Xilbrango.

Teuntep.

Campana.

Petit Lac.

Talguaj.

Huehhuas.

Oltam.

Teichillan.

Guechillan.

Tenayuca.

Lalorran.

Tepeca.

Aculma.

Chiconautla.

Thahliutlan.

Tepetastat.

Escapusalco.

Marsh.

Ecatepec.

Tereuco.

Comalp.

MEXICO.

Quilavaca.

Tacaipatan.

Marsh.

Ayatusco.

The Salt Water.

Capistlan.

Cuicacm.

Oyilabur.

Culiacan.

Lake of Fresh Water.

Pichiquique.

Xicalopa.

Hualuca.

Tlacus.

Quilavaca.

Ayonago.

Chimilco.

Curtaleco.

Timanaleco.

THE
Lake of Mexico
and
Parts Adjacent

Amecamacd.

Tenago.

MEDIO DIA.

CHAP. IX.

Motezuma sends his Nephew the Lord of Tezeuco to visit Cortes in his Quarters: He continues his March, and halts at Quitlavaca, within the Lake of Mexico.

FROM the Houses where the Army quarter'd on the other Side of the Mountain, they passed the Day following to a small Village in the Jurisdiction of *Chalco*, situate on the Royal Road, somewhat more than two Leagues from their former Encampment; where the principal Cazique of the Province, and others of the Neighbourhood, immediately arriv'd: They brought Presents, with some Provisions: *Cortes* entertain'd them with great Humanity, and made them Presents in Return for theirs: But he quickly discover'd by their Conversation, that they were very circumspect, and cautious of speaking before the *Mexican* Ambassadors: For they stopped out of Season, and seem'd embarass'd; and even in what they said, explain'd what they would conceal. *Hernan Cortes* took them aside, and, by the Help of his Interpreters, discover'd all the Venom of their Hearts. They complain'd immoderately of the Cruelties and Tyrannies of *Motezuma*: They represented the intolerable Load of his Imposts, which extended even to their Persons; for he obliged

them to labour without Wages, in his Gardens, and other Works of Vanity : They added with Tears, *That they were forced to give up their Women as a Tribute to his Lust, and that of his Ministers, who chose and rejected them at Pleasure ; nor were the Mother's Arms a Security to her Daughter, or the Bed of a Husband any Protection to his Wife.* They represented this to Cortes, as to the Person who was to apply a Remedy, beholding him as a Deity descended from Heaven, to exercise Jurisdiction over Tyrants. He hearken'd to them with Compassion, and endeavour'd to support them with the Hopes of Relief ; permitting the Opinion they had entertain'd of him to pass at that Time without undeceiving their Ignorance. He did not willingly suffer his Politics to carry him beyond the Bounds of Modesty ; and as little did he care to lessen the advantageous Notion these People had of him, which he consider'd as a Point of the utmost Importance.

He pursued his March the next Day for four Leagues, thro' a more temperate and pleasant Country, whose beautiful Groves and Gardens spoke the Bounty of Nature, and the Industry of Art. He made a Halt in *Amemeca*, where he quarter'd his Army in a Village tolerably well inhabited, built on a Creek of the great Lake, one Half in the Water, and the other on firm Land, at the Foot of a little Mountain, rugged and barren : To this Place resorted a great many *Mexicans*, with their Arms,
and

and military Ornaments : And tho' it was believ'd at first, that Curiosity only brought them thither, their Numbers increas'd to such a Degree, as to give Umbrage ; nor wanted there some Reasons to create a Jealousy of their Designs. *Cortes* had recourse to such Impressions on their Senses as he thought proper to stop and affright them ; making a Discharge of some Fire-Arms, and Pieces of Artillery, in the Air, and provoking the Fury of the Horses ; and the Interpreters represented those strange Sounds, as the Forerunners of some sinister Event : By which Means he oblig'd them to retire to a greater Distance from his Quarters before Night came on. We cannot affirm, that they came with any hostile Intentions ; nor doth it seem likely, that they should undertake any new Conspiracy, when *Moteczuma* was reduc'd to let himself be seen ; tho' afterwards the Centinels kill'd some *Indians* for advancing too near, with an Appearance of reconnoitring the Quarters : And it is possible, that some Chief of the *Mexicans* might lead his Troops thither, with a Design to surprize the *Spaniards* ; as believing it might not be disagreeable to their King, who, they thought, was making a Peace repugnant to his Temper and Interest : But this is no more than Conjecture ; for in the Morning they only discover'd some Troops of People without Arms, who had placed themselves in the Road to see the Strangers pass.

ORDERS

ORDERS were now giving for the Army to march, when four *Mexican* Cavaliers arriv'd at the Quarters, with Notice, that Prince *Cacumatzin*, Nephew to *Moteczuma*, and Lord of *Tezeuco*, was coming to visit *Cortes* on the Part of his Uncle; nor was it long before he arriv'd, accompany'd by a great many Nobles, richly adorn'd, and bearing the Ensigns of Peace. He was carried on the Shoulders of some *Indians* of his Family, in a Chair cover'd with various Feathers, whose Colours were diversify'd with Design and Proportion. He was a young Man of about 25 Years of Age, of an agreeable Presence. So soon as he alighted, some of his Servants went before to sweep the Ground where he was to tread, putting back the People on each Side with much Ceremony, which, howsoever ridiculous, carried a Shew of Authority. *Cortes* went to receive him as far as the Door of his Apartment, having adorn'd himself as usual on such Occasions; and, at his Approach, made a profound Reverence: Which the Prince return'd, touching the Earth, and afterwards his Lips with his Right Hand: He took his Place with a free easy Air, and spoke with the Composure of a Man, who knew how to look on Novelties without Surprise. The Substance of his Discourse was, in proper Expressions, *to welcome Cortes, and all the Captains of his Army; to inform him of the amicable Disposition with which the great Moteczuma expected them, and how much he desired to establish*

establish a firm Correspondence and Friendship with the Puissant Eastern Prince who sent him; whose Power he was obliged to acknowledge, for some Reasons, which they should understand from his own Mouth: And then, by Way of private Discourse, entertain'd him (as the other Embassadors had done before) with the Difficulties that oppos'd his coming to Mexico, pretending that the People were much distress'd by that Year's Barrenness all over the Country; and telling him (as a Point that gave the King much Concern) how ill the Spaniards must be accommodated, where the Inhabitants themselves wanted necessary Subsistence. To this Cortes reply'd, (in that mysterious Manner, by which he constantly maintain'd the Respect and Awe he had imprinted on the People) *That the King his Master, being a Monarch without Equal in the other World where the Sun rises, had likewise some Reasons of high Import for offering his Friendship to Motezuma, and for communicating to him several Affairs which essentially regarded his Person and Dignity, and such as would not be undeserving of his Acknowledgment: And that for his own Part, he did with a most particular Respect accept the Liberty he gave him, to deliver his Embassy, without being the least in Pain for the present Scarcity of the Country: That the Spaniards requir'd but little Nourishment to support their Vigour, and were inured to suffer, and even despise those In-*
conve-

conveniencies and Fatigues, which distress Men of an inferior Species. *Cacumatza* said no more to divert his Resolution; but receiv'd some small Jewels of an extraordinary Glasse, which *Cortes* presented him, with abundance of Joy and Acknowledgment; accompanying the Army as far as *Tezeuco*, the Capital of his Dominion; from whence he proceeded to *Mexico*, with the Answer to his Embassy.

Tezeuco was in those Days one of the greatest Cities of that Empire: Some say 'twas as big as *Sevil*, and others, that it vied with *Mexico* itself for Grandeur, and pretended (not without Reason) to be superior to it in Point of Antiquity. The principal Front of the Buildings was extended on the Border of a spacious Lake, in a delightful Situation, where the Causey of *Mexico* began: And by that *Cortes* pursu'd his March, without stopping at *Tezeuco*; for his Intention was to advance to *Iztacpalapa*, three Leagues forward; from whence he could with Ease the next Day enter *Mexico* in good Time. In this Part the Causey was about twenty Foot broad, made of Stone and Lime, with some Works on the Surface: In the Middle of the Way upon the same Causey, there was another Town of about two thousand Houses, called *Quitlavaca*; and because it was founded in the Waters, they called it *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*. The Cazique went out with a great Retinue to receive *Cortes*, and desired he would honour his City

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City that Night with his Presence; this he did so earnestly, and with such an Appearance of Affection, that *Cortes* judged it necessary to yield to his Entreaties, for fear of disobliging him: Besides that he found his Stay would be of Advantage in order to the making his Observations; for as he had now a nearer View of the Danger, he was jealous of their breaking the Causey, or taking away the Bridges, to obstruct his March.

FROM this Place might be seen the greatest Part of the Lake, beautified with various Towns and Causeys; Towers and Pinnacles which seem'd to swim upon the Waters, Trees and Gardens out of their proper Element; besides a Multitude of *Indians*, who were approaching in their Canoes to behold the *Spaniards*, and a much greater Number on the Battlements of the Houses; a Sight extremely beautiful, and a Novelty surprizing beyond Imagination.

THE Army was sufficiently accommodated in these Quarters; for here the People entertain'd their Guests with Civility, and a cheerful Aspect; and their Politeness was a Proof, that they liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Moteczuma's* Court: But the *Cazique* was not able to refrain from manifesting the little Affection he bore that Emperor, and that he had the same Desire with the rest, to free himself from the intolerable Yoke of his Government: For he encouraged the Soldiers to the Enterprize, which he represented as very easy; and told

told the Interpreters, (as desiring that all should know it) *That the Causey from thence to Mexico, was more capacious, and better than what they had passed; that they had nothing to apprehend on the Way, nor from the Towns on the Borders of it; that the City of Iztacpalapa (thro' which they were to pass) was peaceably inclin'd; and had Orders to receive, and entertain the Spaniards as Friends: And notwithstanding the Loss of that City was a Relation of Motezuma's they had no Reason to fear on that Score for the Prodigies from Heaven, the Answers of his Oracles, and the Accounts he had receiv'd of the Spanish Army's Exploits had render'd him humble and dispirited for which Reason they would find him desirous of Peace, and rather disposed to suffer, than provoke.* The Cazique spoke Truth but with some Mixture of Passion, and Flattery: Notwithstanding which, Cortes divulg'd and exaggerated the Account he had given, among his Soldiers; and it must be confessed it came in Season, that those who were not over-forward in the Pursuit of this Enterprize, might not be discouraged at the great Variety of wonderful Objects, which they had in View, from whence they might form Apprehensions of the Grandeur of the Mexican Court, and the formidable Power of the King: But the Cazique's Intelligence, with the Reflections they made on Motezuma's Perplexity, and his want of Spirit, had such an Effect

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at this Juncture, that all the Soldiers were transported with Joy, where they found Cause of Astonishment; and their Hopes of Success were rais'd in Proportion to their Admiration of what they saw.

C H A P. X.

The Army marches to Iztacpalapa; they make a Disposition for their Entry into Mexico. A Description of the Pomp in which Moteczuma went to receive the Spaniards.

THE next Morning, a little after Break of Day, they form'd themselves upon the same Causey, as well as it would allow, being in that Part wide enough for Eight Horses to march in Front. The Army consisted then of about Four Hundred and Fifty Spaniards, and Six Thousand Indians, Tlascalans, Zempoalans, and other Confederates. They continued their March (without any remarkable Adventure) to the City of *Iztacpalapa*, where they intended to halt; a Place far exceeding the rest, in the Height of its Towers, and Manner of Building: The City consisted of near Ten Thousand Houses, of two and three Stories high, Part of which were built upon the Lake, but the much greater Part upon the Shore, in a delightful and commodious Situation. The Lord of this Place went out

out with a numerous Train to receive the Army and was assisted on this Occasion by the Prince of *Magiscatzingo* and *Cuyoacan*, which were Towns bordering upon the Lake: They brought three separate Presents of various Fruits, Fowls and other Provisions, with some Pieces of Gold worth near Two Thousand Peso's: They presented themselves together, and made themselves known, by telling each his Name and Dignity, relying on their Presents to supply what was wanting in their Words.

THE Entry of the *Spaniards* into this City was welcom'd with loud Acclamations of the People, whose unruly Joy, on that Occasion, assur'd the most jealous Spirits of their Sincerity: The Lodging of the *Spaniards* was prepared in the Prince's own Palace, where they were all under Cover; the rest in the Courts and Porches were sufficiently accommodated for one Night, which they had Reason to pass without any Apprehension of Danger. The Palace was large, and well built, with distinct Apartments both above and below; among which were many Chambers, whose Roofs were flat, and of Cedar, and not without Furniture; for some had Cotton Hangings, of various colour'd Painting, well proportion'd. There were in *Iztacpalapa* many Fountains of sweet and wholesome Water, convey'd by several Aqueducts from the neighbouring Mountains, and a great Number of Gardens, large and well cultivated: Among which there was one far more spacious and beautiful than the rest, which the

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the Cazique had for his own Diversion: To this he carried *Cortes* that Evening, with some of his Captains and Soldiers; as desirous to omit nothing that might entertain his Guests, and at the same Time gratify his own Pride and Vanity. There he had Fruit-Trees disposed into very large Walks, leaving Room for smaller Plants, and a Parterre with Divisions made of Canes interwoven, and covered with odoriferous Herbs; besides several Squares cultivated with great Industry, and adorned with Variety of Flowers: In the Middle of the Garden was a Pond of fresh Water of quadrangular Form, encompass'd with a Wall made of Stone and Lime, with Stairs on all Sides to the Bottom: It was so large, that each Side contained Four Hundred Paces; and here Fish of the most delicate Kind were bred, and several Sorts of Water-Fowl resorted hither, some known in *Europe*, and others of beautiful Figure, and extraordinary Feathers: A Work well worthy of a Prince, and which belonging to a Vassal of *Moteczuma's*, afforded an Idea of the greater Magnificence of his Sovereign. The Night passed very quietly, and the People returned with Pleasure, and a frank open Behaviour, to the Entertainment of the *Spaniards*; but it was observed, they spoke here after another Manner concerning the Affairs of *Moteczuma*; than the rest of his Subjects: For they all praised his Government, and extolled his Grandeur; whether the Honour the Cazique had of belonging to him, had imprinted that Idea on

their Minds, or that they were intimidated by the Neighbourhood of the Tyrant.

THEY had two Leagues of Causey from hence to *Mexico*, and took the Morning before them: For *Cortes* was desirous to make his Entry, and pay his Compliments to *Moteczuma* in good Time, so as to have some Part of the Day left to reconnoitre and fortify his Quarters. He continued his March in the accustomed Order, and leaving on the one Side the City of *Magiscatzingo*, situate on the Water and on the other, that of *Cuyocan*, upon the Causey, besides a great many Towns, which were seen at a Distance upon the Lake, they discovered, as they drew somewhat nearer, (and not without Admiration) the great City of *Mexico*, elevated to a vast Degree above all the rest, and carrying an Air of Dominion in the Pride of her Buildings. They had marched little less than half Way, when they were met by more then Four Thousand Nobles and Officers of the City, who came to receive them; and whose Compliments delayed their March a considerable Time, tho' they only paid their Obedience, and then advanc'd before the Troops towards *Mexico*. In the March, a little before the City, was a Bulwark of Stone, with two small Castles on the Sides, which took up all the Breadth of the Causey; the Gates opened on another Part of the Causey, terminated by a Draw-Bridge, which defended the Entrance of the City with a second Fortification. As soon as the Nobles who accompanied them had

passed

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led to the other Side of the Bridge, they made Lane for the Army to march, falling back on each Side; and then there appeared a very large and spacious Street, with great Houses uniformly built; the Windows and Battlements were full of Spectators, but the Street intirely empty. And they inform'd *Cortes*, that it was order'd, because *Moteczuma* resolv'd to come in Person to receive him, in order to distinguish him by a particular Mark of Favour.

A little after this, appear'd the first Troop of the Royal Retinue, which consisted of about Two Hundred Noblemen of *Moteczuma's* Family, cloathed in one Livery, with great Plumes of Feathers, alike in Fashion and Colour. They came in two Files, with remarkable Silence and Composure, bare-footed, without lifting their Eyes from the Ground, in Manner of a Procession. So soon as they approached the *Spaniards*, they fell back on each Side, in the same Order with the rest; and then there appeared afar off, a larger Company, better dressed, and of greater Dignity; in the midst of which was *Moteczuma*, carried upon the Shoulders of his Favourites, in a Chair of burnish'd Gold, which glitter'd thro' the various Works of Feathers, placed in handsome Proportion about it; the nice Distribution of which, in some measure, seemed to outvie the Cost of the Metal. Four Persons of great Distinction followed his Chair, holding over him a Canopy, made of interwoven green Feathers, so put together, that they form'd a Kind of Web,

with some Ornaments of Silver: A little before him went three Officers, with golden Rods in their Hands, which they lifted up on high from time to time, as a Signal of the King's Approach; that all might prostrate themselves before him, and not presume to look up, which was an Irreverence punished as Sacrilege. *Cortes* dismounted before he came up with him, and *Motezuma* at the same Time alighted from his Chair: Some *Indians* went before spreading Carpets, that his Feet might not touch the Ground, which, in their Opinion was unworthy of the Honour.

He came forward to the Ceremony with slow solemn Pace; leaning with his Hands on the Arms of the Princes of *Iztacpalapa* and *Tezeuco*, his Cousins, and advanced some Steps to receive *Cortes*. He was of a good Presence about Forty Years of Age, of a middle Stature and a Constitution rather delicate than strong; his Nose was aquiline, and he had a fairer Complexion than the generality of the *Indians*; his Hair came just below his Ears, his Eyes were lively, his Look majestick and thoughtful. For his Apparel, he wore a Mantle of the finest Cotton, tied carelessly on his Shoulders, covering the greatest Part of his Body, with the End trailing on the Ground, adorned with different Jewels of Gold, Pearls, and precious Stones, in such Number that they seem'd rather a Weight than an Ornament. His Crown was a Mitre, of light Gold, ending in a Point before; the hinder Part was made rounder:

On

On his Feet he wore Shoes of hammered Gold, whose Straps, studded with the same, bound them to his Feet, and came round Part of his Leg, like the *Roman* military Sandals.

CORTES advanc'd with all becoming Haste, and made a profound Reverence; which *Moteczuma* answered, by laying his Hand upon the Ground, and raising it afterwards to his Lips: A new and unheard-of Condescension among those Princes, but much more so in *Moteczuma*, who would scarcely bend his Neck to his Gods, and affected an Excess of Pride, which, it may be, he knew not how to distinguish from Majesty. These Demonstrations of Respect, and his going out in Person to receive *Cortes*, occasion'd great Admiration among the *Indians*, and added to their Esteem of the *Spaniards*; for they could not be persuaded, but that the King had well considered what he did, submitting their own Reason to his with an implicit Resignation. *Cortes* had put upon his Coat of Mail, a Chain of Glass, curiously set together, in imitation of Diamonds and Emeralds, which he had reserved as a Present for the first Audience; and being close to *Moteczuma*, he threw it about his Neck. The two Princes who supported him, would have stopped *Cortes*, with some Emotion letting him understand, that it was not lawful to approach so near the Person of the King: But he reprimanded them, and was so well pleased with the Present, that he placed it among his Jewels, as a Thing of inestimable Value; and to return his Acknowledgment in

a Manner remarkably generous, while the rest of the Officers came up to be presented, he ordered a Collar to be brought, the richest Piece he had among his Jewels. It was of Crimson Shells, extremely valued in that Country, set together with such Art, that at every one of them hung four Crabs of Gold, very much to the Life; and he himself put it on *Cortes's* Neck; a Favour which occasioned a second Wonder among the *Mexicans*. The Speech of *Cortes* was short, and fitted to the Occasion: *Motezuma's* Answer was likewise in few Words, discreet and decent: He immediately commanded one of the two Princes who went by his Side, to conduct and accompany *Hernan Cortes* to his Lodging; and leaning on the other, went to his Chair, and returned to his Palace with the same Pomp and Gravity.

THE Entry of the *Spaniards* into *Mexico* was on the Eighth of *Nov.* in the Year 1519 the Day of the four crowned Martyrs. The Lodging provided for them was one of the Royal Houses, built by *Axayaca*, the Father of *Motezuma*: In Largeness it vied with the principal Palace of the *Mexican* Emperors, and had the Appearance of a Fortrefs, thick Stone Walls, and some Towers upon the Flanks which made the Defence of it easy: it contained all the Army, and the first Care of *Cortes* was to view every Part of it for the better Distribution of his Guards, and Lodgments of his Artillery, and to secure his Quarters.

Some

Some Chambers designed for the superior Officers were furnish'd with Cotton Hangings of various Colours, which was the chief Part of their Manufacture, more or less fine: The Chairs were of Wood, all of one Piece: The Bed-heads had Curtains like Pavilions; but the Bottoms of the Beds were of Palm-Mats, and the Bolsters of the same rolled up. The greatest Princes there had no better Beds, neither did the People much consult their Ease; for living according to the Rules of Nature, they were content with what was necessary: And we know not whether this Ignorance of Superfluity in those *Barbarians* might not be call'd a Happiness.

C H A P. XI.

Motezuma comes the same Day in the Evening to visit Cortes at his Lodging; the Speech he made before he heard the Embassy: And the Answer of Cortes.

IT was but little past Mid-day when the *Spaniards* enter'd the House appointed for their Lodging, where they found a splendid Banquet prepar'd for *Cortes*, and the Captains of his Army; and great Abundance of Provisions less delicate for the Soldiers, with many *Indian* Servants, who serv'd them with Meat and Drink, in profound Silence, and exact Order.

der. In the Evening came *Motezuma*, with the same Pomp and Attendance as before, to visit *Cortes*; of which being advertis'd, he went out to receive him in the principal Square of the House, with all the Respect due for such a Favour. He accompanied him as far as the Door of his Apartment, where he made him a profound Reverence: *Motezuma* pass'd by him, and took his Seat with an Air of Negligence and Majesty: He presently commanded a Chair to be brought for *Cortes*; and made a Signal to the Cavaliers who attended him, to retire to the Wall. *Cortes* did the same to his Officers: The Interpreters came, and when *Cortes* was preparing to begin his Speech, *Motezuma* stopp'd him, and signified, that he had somewhat to say before he gave him Audience; and Authors report, that he spoke in the following Manner:

“ Before you deliver the Embassy of the
 “ Great Prince who sent you, illustrious Cap-
 “ tain, and valiant Stranger, both you and I
 “ must pass by, and bury in Oblivion, what
 “ Fame hath publish'd of our Persons and
 “ Conduct, abusing our Ears with idle Ru-
 “ mours, which prepossess us against Truth,
 “ and render her obscure, either by Flattery,
 “ or Reproach. In some Places you have been
 “ told, That I am one of the immortal Gods;
 “ my Power and my Person have been ex-
 “ alted to the Heavens: In others, that the
 “ Business of Fortune is to enrich me; that
 “ the Walls and Coverings of my Palace are
 “ all

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“ all Gold, and that the Earth groans beneath
“ the Weight of my Treasure: In others, that
“ I am a Tyrant, cruel, and proud, abhorring
“ Justice, and a Stranger to Mercy. But both
“ the one and the other have equally impos’d
“ upon you by their Exaggerations: And that
“ you may not imagine me a God, but be
“ sensible of the Folly of those who suppose
“ me to be so, this Part of my Body (said he,
“ uncovering his Arm) will undeceive you;
“ and prove that you talk to a Mortal, of the
“ same Species with the rest of Men; but
“ more noble, and more powerful. My
“ Riches, I deny not, are great; but the Ac-
“ count of my Vassals makes them much
“ greater than they are. This House, where-
“ in you lodge, is one of my Palaces: Be-
“ hold the Walls made of Stone and Lime,
“ ordinary Materials, which owe their Value
“ to Art: And now, from both these In-
“ stances, judge how likely it is, that my Ty-
“ rannies have been magnified in the same
“ Manner. Suspend your Judgment at least,
“ till you enter into my Reasons; and lay no
“ Stress on the Accusations brought against me
“ by my rebellious Subjects, till you have first
“ inform’d yourself, whether that which they
“ call Oppression be not Chastisement; and
“ whether they can complain of my Severity
“ without having deserv’d it.

“ After the same Manner have we receiv’d
“ various Informations of your Nature and
“ Actions: Some have said, that you are Gods;
“ that

“ that the wild Beasts obey you; that you grasp
 “ the Thunder in your Hands, and command
 “ the Elements: Others have reported that
 “ you are wicked, revengeful, proud, Slaves
 “ to your Vices, and transported with an in-
 “ satiable Thirst of the Gold which our Coun-
 “ try produces. But now I see you are of the
 “ same Composition and Form with the rest
 “ of Men; tho’ you are distinguish’d from us
 “ by some Accidents, which the Difference of
 “ Countries occasions among Mortals. These
 “ Beasts which obey you, I find are large Deer,
 “ which you have tamed, and bred up in such
 “ imperfect Knowledge, as may be attain’d to
 “ by the Instinct of Animals. Your Arms,
 “ which resemble Lightning, I conceive to
 “ be Barrels of unknown Metal; whose Effect
 “ like that of our Sarbacans, proceeds from
 “ Air compress’d, which strives for a Vent,
 “ and forces its Way thro’ all Impediments:
 “ The Fire, which your Barrels discharge with
 “ greater Noise, is some Secret more than na-
 “ tural of that Science, which our Magicians
 “ understand. For the rest, which has been
 “ related of your Proceedings, I find likewise,
 “ according to the Observation of my Em-
 “ bassadors and Servants, that you are cour-
 “ teous, and religious; that your Resent-
 “ ments are founded on Reason: Hardships
 “ you bear chearfully; and, among your other
 “ Virtues, discover Liberality, which rarely
 “ accompanies a covetous Mind. So that we
 “ must on both Sides forget all past Informa-
 “ tions,

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" tions, and be thankful to our Eyes for un-
" deceiving our Imaginations: Which taking
" for granted, I would have you understand,
" before you begin your Discourse, that we
" are not ignorant, or stand in need of your
" Persuasions, to believe, that the Great Prince
" you obey, is descended from our ancient
" *Quezalcoal*, Lord of the Seven Caves of
" the *Navatlaques*, and lawful King of those
" Seven Nations, which gave Beginning to
" the *Mexican* Empire. By one of his Pro-
" phecies, which we reverence as an infallible
" Truth, and by a Tradition of many Ages,
" preserv'd in our Annals, we know, that he
" departed from these Countries to conquer
" new Regions in the *East*; leaving a Pro-
" mise, that in Process of Time, his Descen-
" dants should return to model our Laws, and
" amend our Government. And, because the
" Marks you carry agree with this Prophecy,
" and the Prince of the *East*, who sends you,
" manifests in your very Actions, the Great-
" ness of so illustrious a Progenitor, we have
" already determin'd, that all Things shall be
" done for his Honour, to the utmost of our
" Ability; of which I have thought fit to ad-
" vertise you, that without any Constraint you
" may declare what you have to propose, and
" attribute to so noble a Cause, this Excess of
" my Goodness." *Motezuma* in this manner
ended the Discourse, which he had calculated
to prepossess the *Spaniards* with an Opinion of
his Integrity, and which he deliver'd in a Style
of

of Majesty : The Substance of it gave sufficient Ground to *Cortes* (without disputing the Illusions which he found so universally establish'd in the Minds of the *Indians*) to answer in these or the like Terms :

“ SIR, After rendering Thanks for the extreme Goodness with which you condescend to hearken to our Embassy, and the superior Knowledge which you employ in our Favour, by condemning (to our great Advantage) the Misrepresentations of common Fame, I must likewise acquaint you, that your Embassadors have been receiv'd by us with that Respect and Veneration which is agreeable to your Greatness. Much we have heard concerning you in these Countries, under your own Dominion ; some vilifying your Actions, others placing you among the Gods : But this Way of exaggerating is prejudicial to the Truth ; for as the Voice of Man is the Trumpet of Fame, so is it influenced by his Passions ; and these either do not understand Things as they are, or do not relate them as they are understood. The *Spaniards*, Sir, have that penetrating View, which discovers the different Colours of Discourse, and in them the Deceit of the Heart. We have given no Credit either to your Rebels, or Flatterers : We are come into your Presence, with certain Assurance of your being a great Prince, and a Friend to Reason, without any Necessity of being convinc'd by our Senses that you are mortal. We *Spaniards*

" *niards* also are mortal, but more valiant,
" and of greater Understanding than your Vaf-
" fals, born in a Climate of more powerful
" Influences than yours: The Beasts which
" obey us, are not like your Deer, but of a
" Kind more fierce and generous; Brutes in-
" clin'd to War, and which know how to
" aspire with a sort of Ambition, to the Glory
" of their Masters. Our Fire-Arms are the
" Effect of human Industry, without owing
" any Part of their Production to the Skill of
" Magicians; a Science abominable among us,
" and more contemned than Ignorance itself.
" I thought it my Duty to establish these Prin-
" ciples, that I might the better comply with
" the Commands you have laid upon me. I
" am now to acquaint you, with all due Re-
" verence to your Majesty, that I come as Em-
" bassador from the most powerful Monarch
" the Sun shines on from his first Rising: He
" desires to be your Friend and Confederate,
" not by Virtue of those ancient Rights, which
" you have declar'd, nor for any other Reason,
" than to open a Communication between the
" two Monarchies, that by this Means he may
" have the Pleasure to free you from your Er-
" rors. And tho' he might (according to the
" Tradition of your own Histories) pretend to
" be more absolute in these Dominions, he
" only desires to make use of his Authority,
" to gain your Credit in Things entirely for
" your own Advantage; and to inform you,
" Sir, and you, *Mexicans*, who hear me, that
you

“ you live in Error, with regard to the Reli-
 “ gion you profess; adoring insensible Pieces
 “ of Wood, the Work of your own Hands
 “ and Fancies: Forasmuch as there is but one
 “ true God, the eternal Cause of all Things,
 “ without Beginning or Ending; whose infi-
 “ nite Power created out of Nothing the won-
 “ derful Fabrick of the Heavens, the Sun
 “ which enlightens us, the Earth which sustains
 “ us, and the first Man from whom we all
 “ proceed, under equal Obligation to acknow-
 “ ledge and adore our First Cause. This very
 “ Obligation is imprinted in your Souls, of
 “ whose Immortality you are not ignorant;
 “ but which nevertheless you debase and de-
 “ stroy, by paying Adoration to Devils, un-
 “ clean Spirits, Creatures of the same God,
 “ who for Ingratitude and Rebellion are cast
 “ into subterranean Fires, of which you have
 “ some imperfect Image in your Volcanos.
 “ These, who thro’ their Envy and Wicked-
 “ ness, are mortal Enemies to Mankind, en-
 “ deavour your Perdition, by causing them-
 “ selves to be ador’d in your abominable Idols:
 “ Theirs is the Voice you sometimes hear in
 “ the Answers of your Oracles; theirs the Il-
 “ lusions which impose on your Reason the
 “ Errors of Imagination. I am sensible, Sir,
 “ that such high Mysteries are not to be ex-
 “ plain’d at this present Juncture: But the
 “ King, whose ancient Superiority you ac-
 “ knowledge, exhorts you to hear me on this
 “ Subject with an unprejudiced Mind, that
 “ you

you may taste of that Repose which your Spirit will find in Truth, and be sensible how often you have resisted natural Reason, which has afforded you Light sufficient to discover your Errors. This is the first Thing which the King my Master desires of your Majesty, and the chief Proposal I have to make to you, as the most effectual Means to establish with a lasting Amity the Confederacy of the two Crowns on the solid Foundation of Religion, which uniting us in Principles, may introduce and fix a voluntary Friendship in our Minds." Thus did *Hernan Cortes* endeavour to maintain, in *Motezuma's* Belief, the Reputation of his Forces, without departing from the Truth; making a dexterous Use of the Original they had bestow'd on his King; and not contradicting what they imagin'd, that he might give the greater Authority to his Embassy. But *Motezuma* heard the Point of Religion without any Mark of Conviction; continuing superstitiously obstinate in his Pagan Errors: And rising from his Seat, "I do accept (said he) with all Acknowledgment, the Confederacy and Friendship you propose from the great Descendant of *Quezalcoal*; but all Gods are good, and yours may be what you say, without Offence to mine. Repose yourselves now; you are in your own House, where you shall be serv'd with all the Regard that is due to your Valour, and to the great Prince who sends you." He then immediately gave Orders

Orders for some *Indians* attending without to enter, and before he went away, presented *Hernan Cortes* with several Pieces of Gold, a Quantity of Cotton Robes, and several Curiosities of Feathers; a considerable Gift both for the Value and Manner. He distributed the same Time some Jewels and Things of the like Kind among the *Spaniards* who were present, without seeming to think he laid them under any Obligation, and doing all with a chearful Generosity: He beheld *Cortes* and his Soldiers with a sort of Satisfaction in which one might perceive, the Disquiet he had lain under before; in the same manner as a Man shews how far his Fears have prevailed over him, by the Joy he discovers in being delivered from them.

C H A P. XII.

Cortes visits Motezuma in his Palace; the Greatness and Furniture of it are described: An Account of what passed in that Conference, and in others which they had afterwards upon the Subject of Religion.

THE following Day *Hernan Cortes* desired an Audience, which was granted with such Readiness, that the same Persons who were to accompany him, returned with the Answer: These were particularly appointed to

without attend Embassadors, as Masters of the Ceremonies of that Country. The General put on a gay Habit, without quitting his Arms (for he had a mind to be introduced in his military Dress); and carried with him the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, and *Diego de Ordaz*, with six or seven favourite Soldiers; among whom was *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who had already begun to make Observations, in order to compile a History

THE Streets were all filled with an innumerable Concourse of People, who crowded to behold the *Spaniards*, but yet without hindering their Passage; and among their Compliments and Acclamations, the Word *Teule* was often distinguished, which in their Language signifies a God: A word, the Importance whereof was understood; and which had no ill Sound in the Ears of those who founded part of their Courage on the Respect that was paid them.

AT a considerable Distance appeared the Palace of *Moteczuma*, which sufficiently shewed the great Magnificence of their Kings: The Pile was so very large, that it opened with Thirty Gates, to as many different Streets: The principal Front took up one whole Side of a very spacious Parade, and was of Jasper, black, red, and white, well polished and skillfully placed: Over the Gate in a large Shield, were seen the Arms of *Moteczuma*, a Griffin, half Eagle, and half Lion, with the Wings ex-

tended for Flight, and a Tyger in his Talons. Some maintain, that this Griffin was an Eagle, because there were no Griffins in that Country, as if there were Reason to believe, that other Parts of the World produc'd them; whereas Naturalists place them in the Number of fabulous Birds; and we shall rather chuse to suppose these sort of Monsters the Production of Fancy, by a Liberty allowed to Poets and Painters.

As they approached the principal Gate, the Officers of *Moteczuma*, who accompanied *Cortes*, walked up to one Side of it; and then retiring with a shew of some Myſtery in their Motions, formed a Semi-circle, that they might enter the Gate by two and two: A customary Ceremony; for they thought it an Irreverence to enter the Royal Palace in a Crowd; and by their stepping back, they shewed how much they feared to tread ſo ſacred a Place. After having paſſed three Squares, built and adorned in the ſame manner as the Front of the Palace, they came to *Moteczuma's* Apartment, where they equally admired the Largeneſs of the Rooms, and the Furniture: The Floors were covered with Mats of different Work; the Walls with Hangings of Cotton, and Furrs of Rabbits interwoven; and the innermoſt Room with Hangings of Feathers, both the one and the other beautified with lively Colours, and various Figures. The Roofs were of Cypreſs, Cedar, and other odoriferous Woods, with different Foliages and Relievos; and

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and in this Building it was remarkable, that without having found the Use of Nails, they formed large Ceilings, fixing the Timber-Work and Planks in such manner, as to make them sustain one another.

IN each of these spacious Rooms, there was a great Number of Officers of different Rank, who kept the Entrance according to their Quality and Office: And at the Door of the Anti-Chamber waited the Nobility and Magistrates, who received *Cortes* with much Civility; but made him stop till they had taken off their Shoes, and the costly Cloaths with which they were adorned, and put on others of less Finery: For it was thought a great Indecency among these People, to appear in their richest Habits before the King. The *Spaniards* observed every thing; every thing was new to them; and every thing imprinted a Respect; the Greatness of the Palace, the Ceremonies, the Attendants, and even the profound Silence of so numerous a Train of Domesticks.

MOTEZUMA was standing with all his Ensigns of Royalty about him, and advanced some Steps to receive *Cortes*; who approaching with a low Bow, he laid his Arms upon his Shoulders, and then saluted the rest of the *Spaniards* who waited on him by an obliging Look: Then seating himself, he commanded *Cortes* to sit, and all those who came with him, without suffering any Excuse. The Visit was long, and the Conversation familiar.

The Emperor asked *Cortes* several Questions concerning the Nature and Politicks of the *Eastern* Countries: Approving what he thought right; and letting him see, that where he doubted, he knew how to support his Objections by proper Arguments. Then he touch'd upon the Dependency and Obligations of the *Mexicans* to the Descendant of their first King: And expressed his particular Satisfaction, that the Prophecy concerning the Strangers, who had been promised to his Ancestors so many Ages past, was compleated in his Time: And if he spoke not with Sincerity, he understood very well how to hide his Thoughts. And tho' this was a Notion, vain and despicable in its Original and Circumstances, yet it was of great Importance to the *Spaniards* upon this Occasion; for by the Help of it they found the Way open for their Entrance. Thus many Times from Things trivial in their Beginning, proceed Consequences of the greatest Importance. *Hernan Cortes* dextrously led him to the Topic of Religion; enlarging (among other Things he told him of his Country) upon the Rites and Customs of the Christians, to the end that the Vices and Abominations of his Idolatry might appear the more detestable by such a Contrast. He made use of this Opportunity, to exclaim against Sacrifices of human Blood, and to shew how horrible and contrary to Nature it was, to eat the Men they sacrificed: A brutish Custom prevailing in this Court,

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Court, proportionably to the vast Number of Sacrifices which aggravated the Crime of Gluttony.

THIS Conference was not altogether useless; for *Motezuma* yielding in some degree to the Force of Reason, banished from his Table all Dishes of human Flesh; but did not dare all at once to forbid his Subjects the Use of it. Nor was he convinced as to the Point of Sacrifices: Saying, *It was no Cruelty to offer to his Gods, Prisoners of War, already condemn'd to die; nor did he think it reasonable to extend the Denomination of Neighbour to Enemies.*

HE gave but small Hopes of his Conversion; tho' *Hernan Cortes*, and Father *Bartholomé de Olmedo*, endeavoured several times to lead him into the Way of Truth. He had Capacity enough to comprehend some Advantages of the Catholick Religion, and not entirely to overlook the Abuses of his own; but he presently returned to his old Theme, *That his Gods were good in that Country, as the Christian God was in theirs*: And he was obliged to put a Force on himself to conceal his Anger, when the Argument was press'd too hard against him. He was much disturbed within himself at these Conferences; for on the one hand he endeavoured to oblige the *Spaniards*, by a Complaisance which hardly became his Dignity; and on the other was press'd by a necessary Affectation of Religion, which had acquired, and, as he believed, preserved his

Crown: This made him apprehend the Contempt of his Vassals, in case they should find him less zealous than formerly for the Worship of his Gods: A miserable Policy, and proper to Tyrants; to command with Pride, and reflect with a slavish Fear!

HE made such an Ostentation of his Obstinacy, that in a very few Days, taking *Hernan Cortes*, and Father *Bartholomé*, with some Captains and particular Soldiers along with him, to see the Grandeur of his Court, he resolv'd, upon a Principle of Vanity, to shew them the greater Magnificence of his Temples. He commanded them to stop a little at the Entrance, and went forward himself to consult the Priests, Whether it were lawful for him to bring into the Presence of his Gods, those who refus'd to adore them? It was concluded, that they might enter; but that he should first admonish them to behave themselves with Respect: And two or three of the most antient Priests went out with the Permission and the Request. Immediately all the Gates of this spacious Edifice were opened; and *Moteczuma* took upon himself to explain all the secret Places of Worship, the Use of the Vessels, and other Instruments and Images of the Temple, with so much Ceremony and Reverence, that the *Spaniards* could not refrain from Laughter, which he did not seem to take Notice of; but turned and looked upon them, as desiring to keep them within Bounds. Here *Hernan Cortes* suffering himself to be transported with the Zeal which
burnt

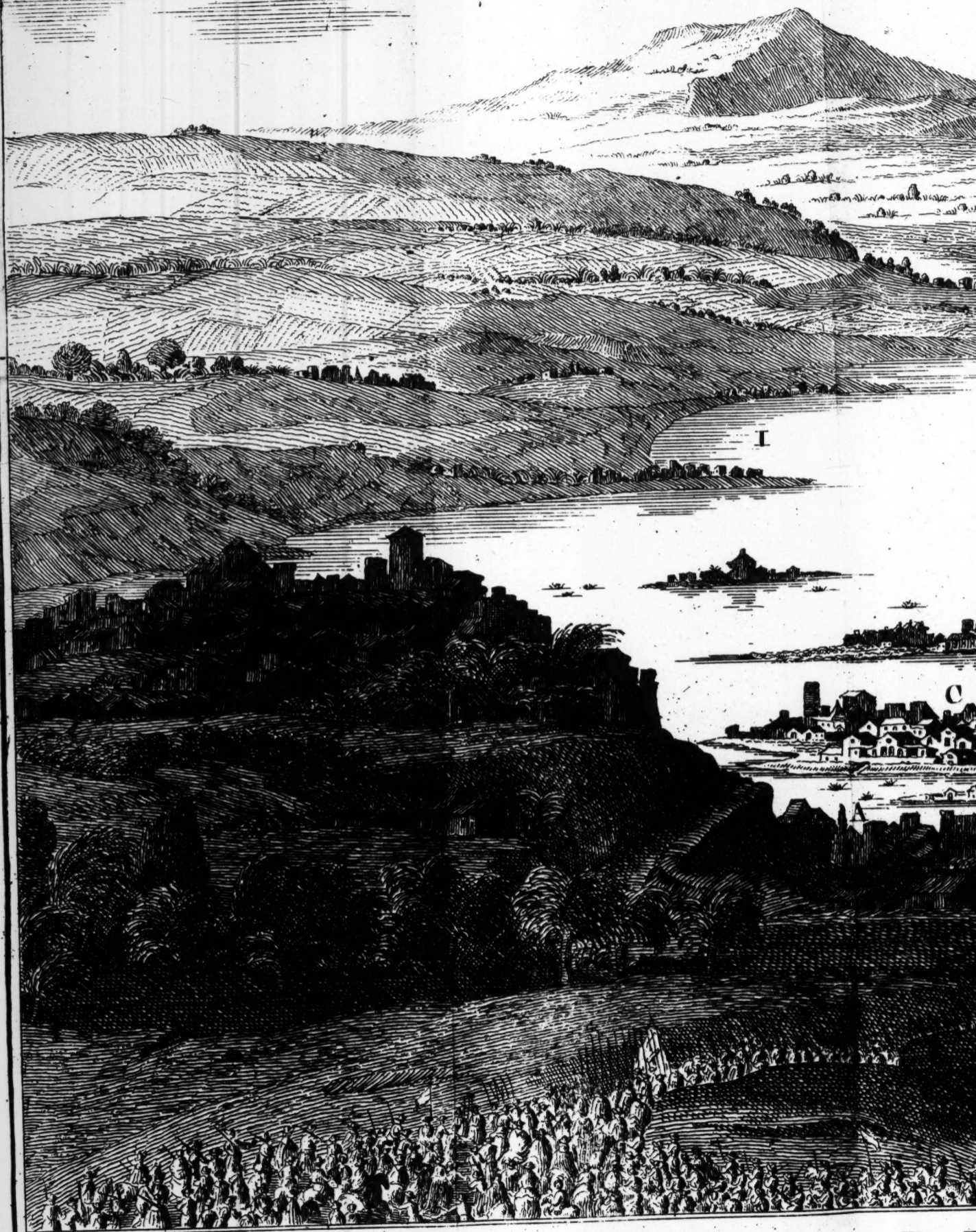
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burnt within his Breast, addressed himself to *Moteczuma*, and said, *Permit me, Sir, to fix the Cross of Christ before these Images of the Devil, and you shall see whether they deserve Adoration or Contempt.* At the hearing of this Proposition, the Priests grew enraged, and *Moteczuma* found himself in the greatest Confusion and Perplexity; wanting Patience to bear it, and Resolution to shew his Displeasure: But recollecting himself, and endeavouring to hide his Resentments; *You might at least* (said he to the *Spaniards*) *have shewed this Place the Respect you owe to my Person.* On which he immediately went out of the Temple, that they might do the same; but stopp'd on the Threshold, and added, with somewhat more of Calmness, *You may return to your House, my Friends; for I shall remain here to ask Pardon of my Gods, for having suffered you to proceed thus far.* In this Manner he disengag'd himself from the Perplexity he was in, with few Words, but worthy of Regard; as informing them of his Resolution, and how hard a Task he found it to command his Temper.

FROM this, and other Experiments of the same Kind, *Cortes* took a Resolution (with the Advice of Father *Bartholomé de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*) not to talk any more then on the Subject of Religion, which only seemed to provoke and harden the Heart of *Moteczuma*; but at the same Time, they obtained his Leave, to worship God in Publick; and he himself sent his Master-

Builders to erect a Chapel at his own Expence, according to the Direction of *Cortes*. So much did he desire to be left in the quiet Possession of his Errors! The *Spaniards* presently cleared one of the principal Rooms of the Palace: they white-washed it, and raised an Altar; and in the Front, upon Steps richly adorned, they placed the Image of our Lady, and fixing a large Cross near the Gate, formed a very decent Chapel, where they celebrated Mass every Day, and recited their Rosary, with other Acts of Piety and Devotion: *Motezuma* with his Princes and Ministers were often present; and praised the Humanity of the Christian Sacrifice, without discovering the Barbarity and Abomination of their own. A People blind, and superstitious, who tho' sensible of their Errors, yet suffered Custom to get the better of their Reason!

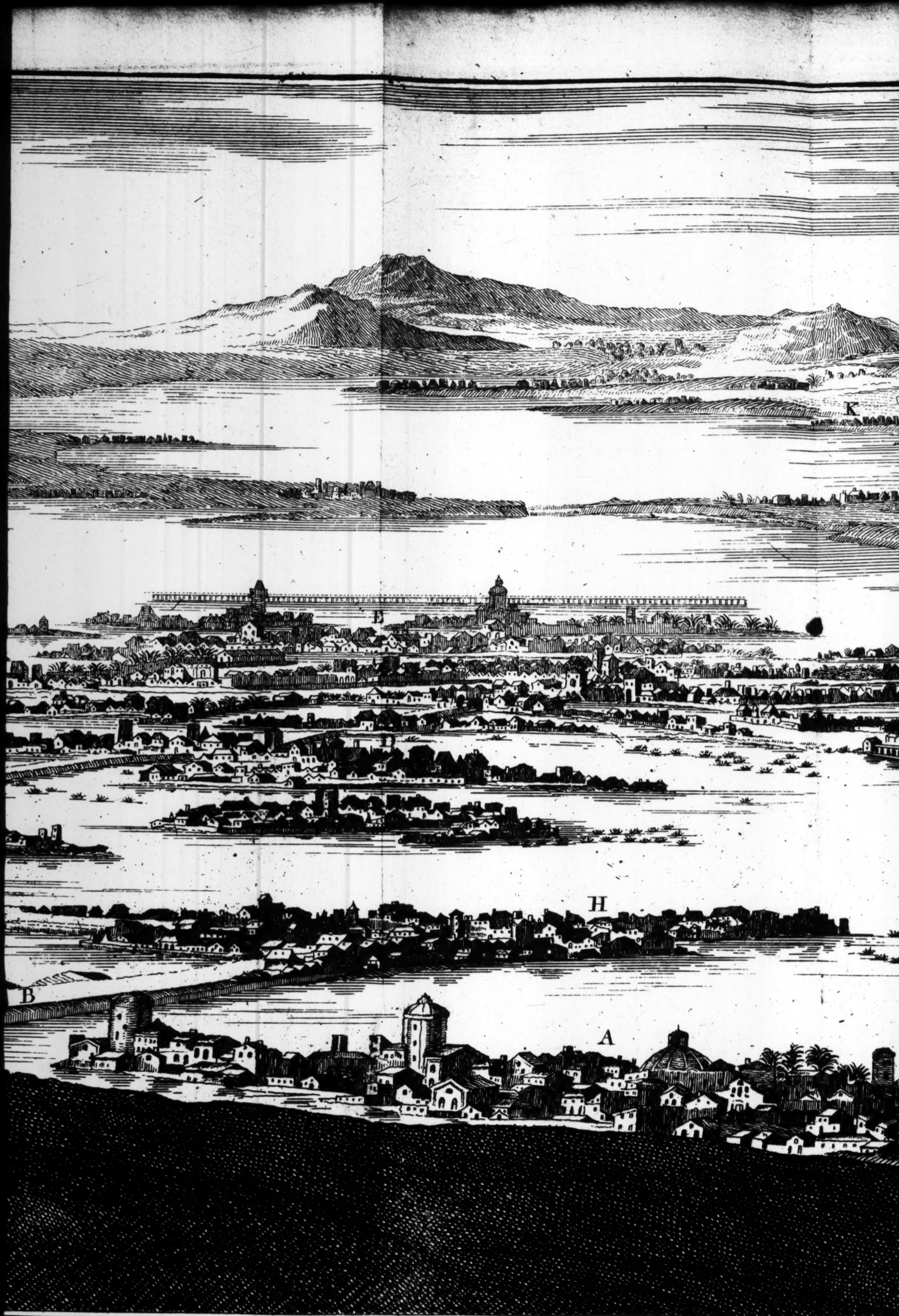
BUT before we relate what happened to the *Spaniards* in this Court; 'tis proper to give a Description of *Mexico*, the Magnificence of its Buildings, its Form of Government and Policy, and make some other Observations requisite for the right conceiving and understanding the Events themselves. For tho' such Descriptions interrupt the Narration, they are necessary to the History, as not being foreign to the Argument, nor having any of those Blemishes which make a Digression vicious.

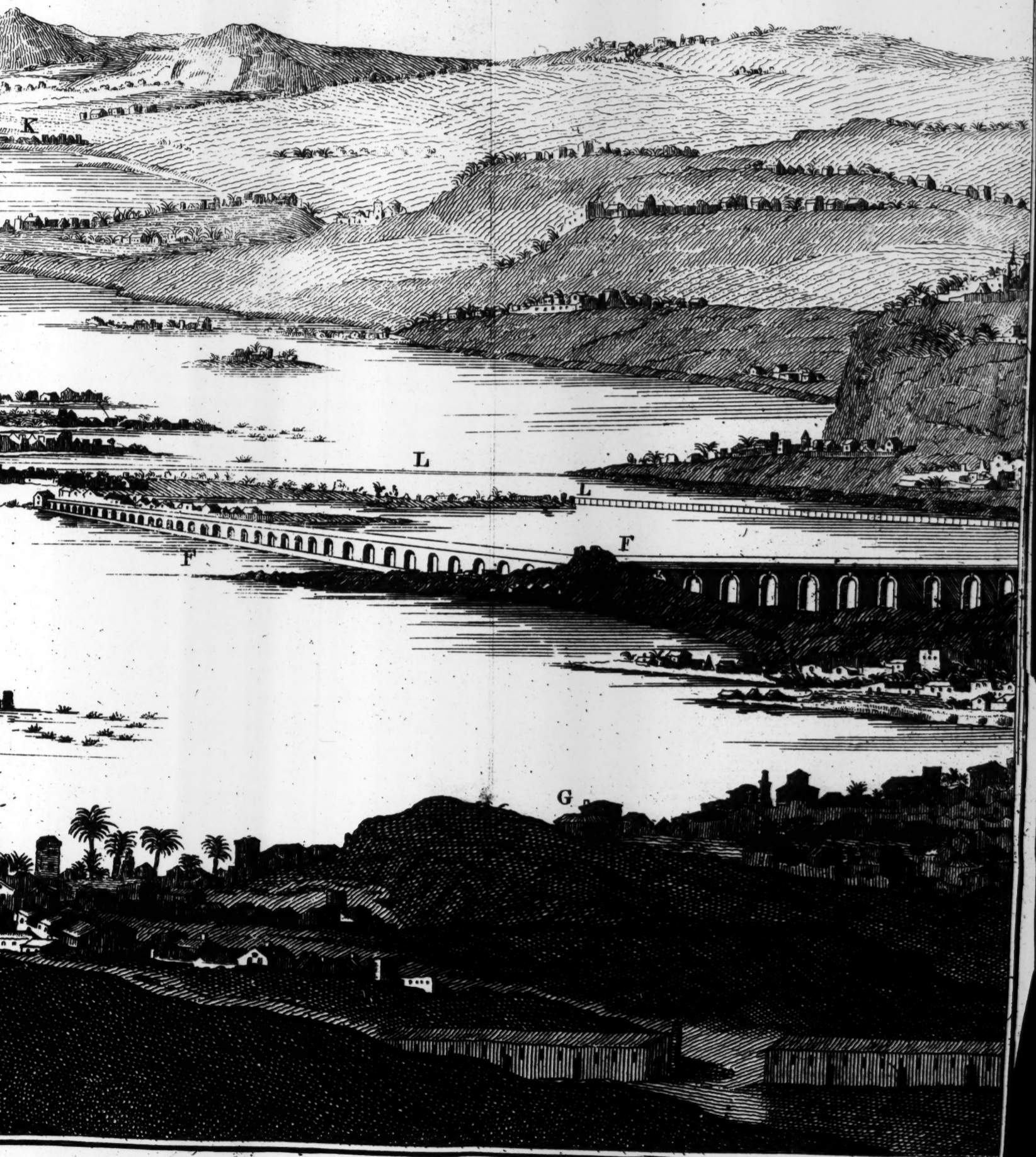


A . Tezcucó . B . The great Causey . C . Quitlavaca . D . I.
 E . Mexico . F . Agueducho . G . Cuyioacan . H . Mag.
 I . Gimameca . K . Suchimilco . L . 2 Causey .



D. Iztacpalapa.
Magiscatzingo
useys.





C H A P. XIII.

A Description of the City of Mexico; the Temperateness of its Climate; its Situation; the Market of Tlatelulco, and the great Temple dedicated to the God of War.

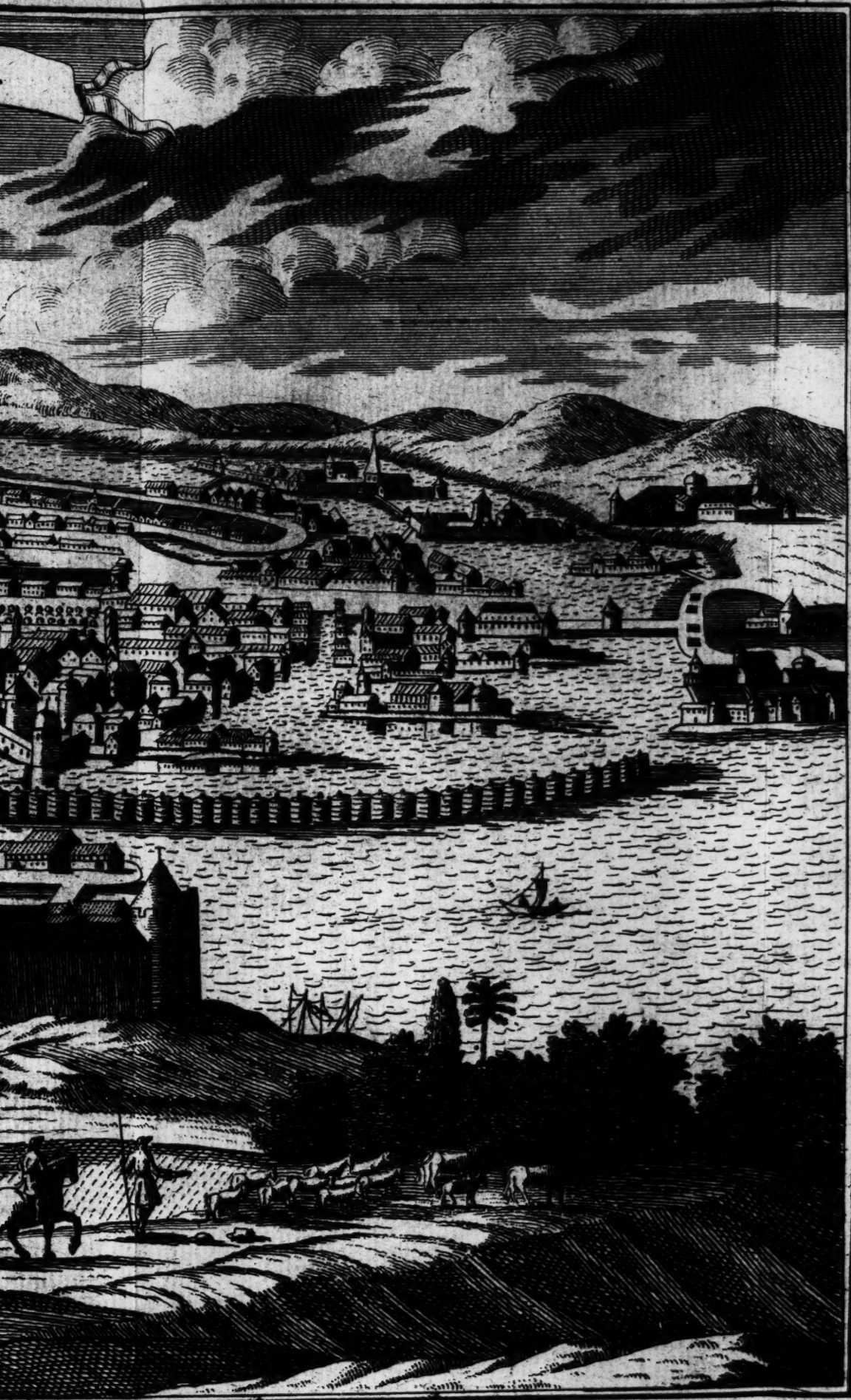
THE great City of *Mexico*, which was anciently known by the Name of *Tenūchtitlan*, or some other of a like Sound (a Question canvas'd by Authors to very little Purpose) at this Time contained Sixty thousand Families, and was divided into two Parts; of which one was called *Tlatelulco*, the Habitation of the meaner Sort of People; the other *Mexico*, the Residence of the Court and Nobility, and which therefore gave its Name to the whole.

It was situated in a spacious Plain, surrounded with very high Rocks and Mountains; by whose Streams and Rivulets, rolling into the Valley, were formed several Lakes, and two of a larger Size in the deepest Part, where the *Mexicans* had above fifty Towns. This little Sea was about thirty Leagues in Circumference: And the two Lakes which compos'd it, had a Communication thro' a Wall of Stone, which divided them; some Openings being left, with Wooden Bridges over them, and Sluices on each Side to supply the lower Lake, when there was Occasion to make good the want

want of Water in one with the Redundance of the other. The uppermost was clear sweet Water, where they had some sorts of Fish, of very agreeable Taste: The lower Lake was salt like the Sea; not that the Rivulets that fed it were of different Quality, but it proceeded from the natural Quality of the Soil which received them, and which in this Part is fat and nitrous, but very useful for the making of Salt, all along the Borders of the Lake, where the Sun purified and refined the Scum that was left by the beating of the Waves.

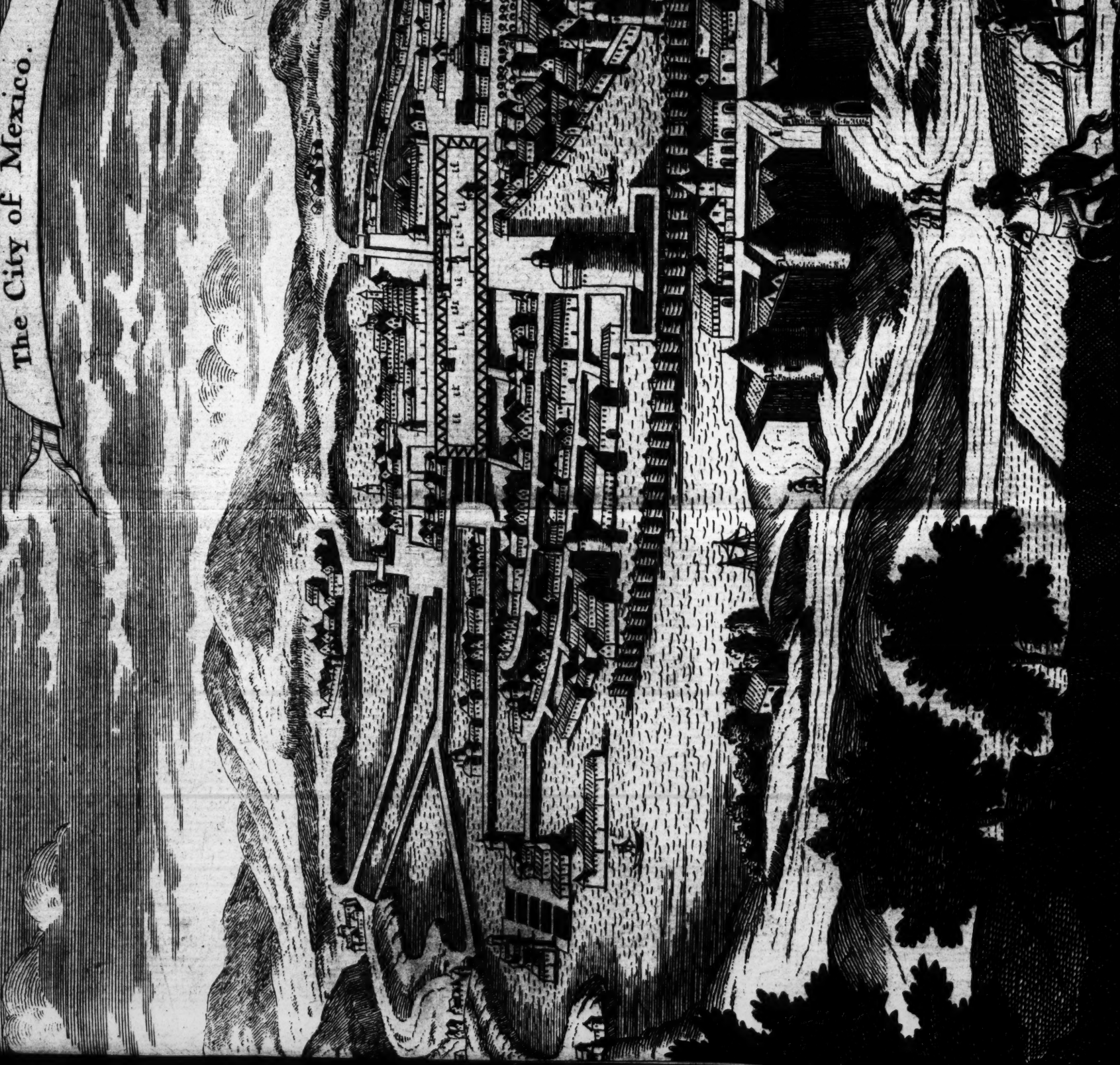
IN the middle almost of this salt Water Lake stood the City of *Mexico*, in 19 Deg. and 13 Min. *North* Lat. within the *Torrid Zone*, by the ancient Philosophers imagined uninhabitable, which may instruct us by Experience, how little we can rely on human Wisdom, when the Reasonings of the Understanding are not supported by the Evidence of the Senses. The Climate was mild and healthy, with seasonable Vicissitudes of Heat and Cold: And the Moisture, which might have proved unwholesome by the natural Situation of the Place, was corrected by the Favour of the Winds, and qualified by the Benefit of the Sun.

THIS great City had most beautiful Prospects in the midst of the Waters, and was joined to the Land by its Dikes, or principal Causeways; a sumptuous Work, of no less Ornament than Use: One was to the *South* two Leagues long, (by which the *Spaniards* made their Entrance)



J. Clark sc. 1793.

The City of Mexico.



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ance) another one League long looking to the North, and the Third somewhat less, to the West. The Streets were all large and straight, as if they were drawn by a Line: Some were of Water, with Bridges, for the Communication of the Inhabitants: Others were of Earth alone, raised by Art; and others again were compos'd of Earth and Water, the Earth on each Side for the People to pass on Foot, and Canals in the Middle for the Canoes and Barks of different Bulk, which served for Commerce and other Conveniencies about the City, and the Number whereof was almost incredible: Some say, above Fifty Thousand, without counting little Vessels, which were called *Acales*, made of the Trunk of a Tree, and capable of holding but one Man.

THE publick Buildings and Houses of the Nobility, which made up the greatest Part of the City, were of Stone, and well built: The Houses of the common Sort, low, and unequal; but both the one and the other so laid out, that they formed several Parades, where they expos'd their Merchandize.

AMONG the rest, that of *Tlatelulco* was of prodigious Extent and Resort on the account of its Fairs, held there some certain Days of the Year, and frequented by all the Merchants and Traders of the whole Kingdom, with their most valuable Fruits and Manufactures: And they flock'd hither in such mighty Numbers, that tho' this Square was (according to *Antonio de Herrera*) one of the largest in the World,
it

it was nevertheless filled with Tents, placed in Ranks, and so near together, that there was scarce Room left for the Buyers to pass. All knew their Posts, and secured their Shops with portable Frames, covered with coarse Cotton Cloth, which were Proof both against the Sun and Rain. The *Spanish* Writers make no End of reflecting on the Order, Variety, and Riches of those Fairs: There were Rows of Silver-smiths, who sold Jewels, and Chains of extraordinary Fashion; several Figures of Beasts, in Gold and Silver, wrought with so much Art, as rais'd the Wonder of our Artificers: And particularly, some Skillets with moving Handles, that were so cast, and other Pieces of the same Kind, with Moldings and Relievs, without any Signs of a Hammer or Graver. There were also Rows of Painters, with fine Figures and Landskips made of Feathers, so curiously placed, as to give both Colour and Life to the Piece; and in this Kind there were extraordinary Proofs, both of the Patience and Skill of the Workman. They brought to this Fair all the different Sorts of Cloths made throughout this vast Empire, of Cotton and Rabbit Fur, which the Women of this Country (Enemies to Idleness) spun extremely fine, being very dextrous in this Manufacture. They had Drinking-cups exquisitely made of the finest Earth, different in Colour, and even in Smell: And of this Kind they had all Sorts of Vessels necessary, either for the Service or Ornament of a House: For they used no Vessels
either

either of Silver or Gold, which were only seen at the Royal Table, and that on extraordinary Days. This Fair likewise afforded, in the same Order and Plenty, all Sorts of Fruit, Flesh, and Fish; and in a Word, every Thing which could contribute to the Pleasures, or supply the Necessities of Life.

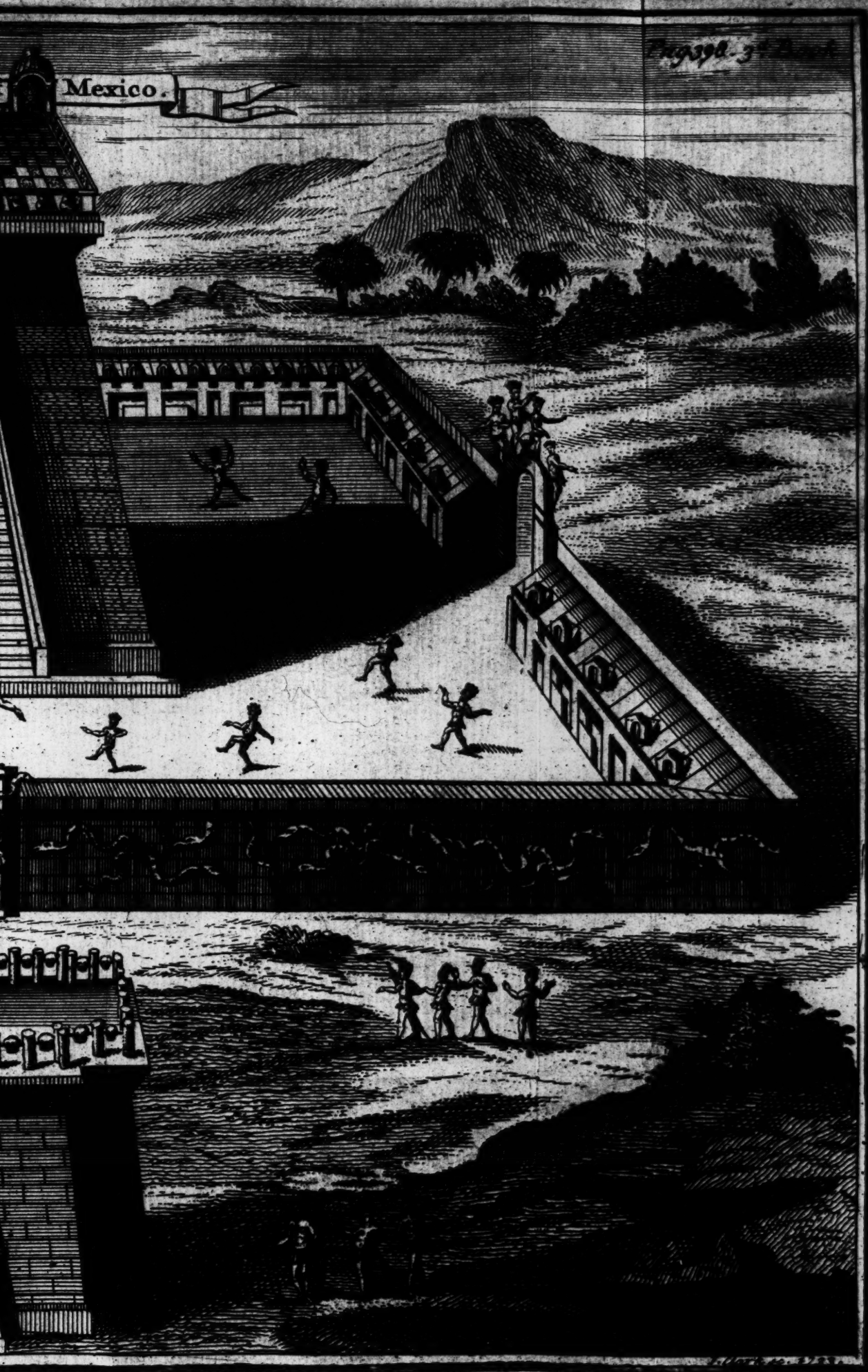
THE Way of Buying and Selling was by bartering one Thing for another: And every one parted with what he had too much of, for what he wanted; and Maiz or Coco served as Money for Things of small Value. They did not know what belonged to Weight; but they had different Measures, with which they distinguished Quantity: And they had their Numbers and Characters, by which they adjusted the Prices of Goods, according to the Taxes laid upon them.

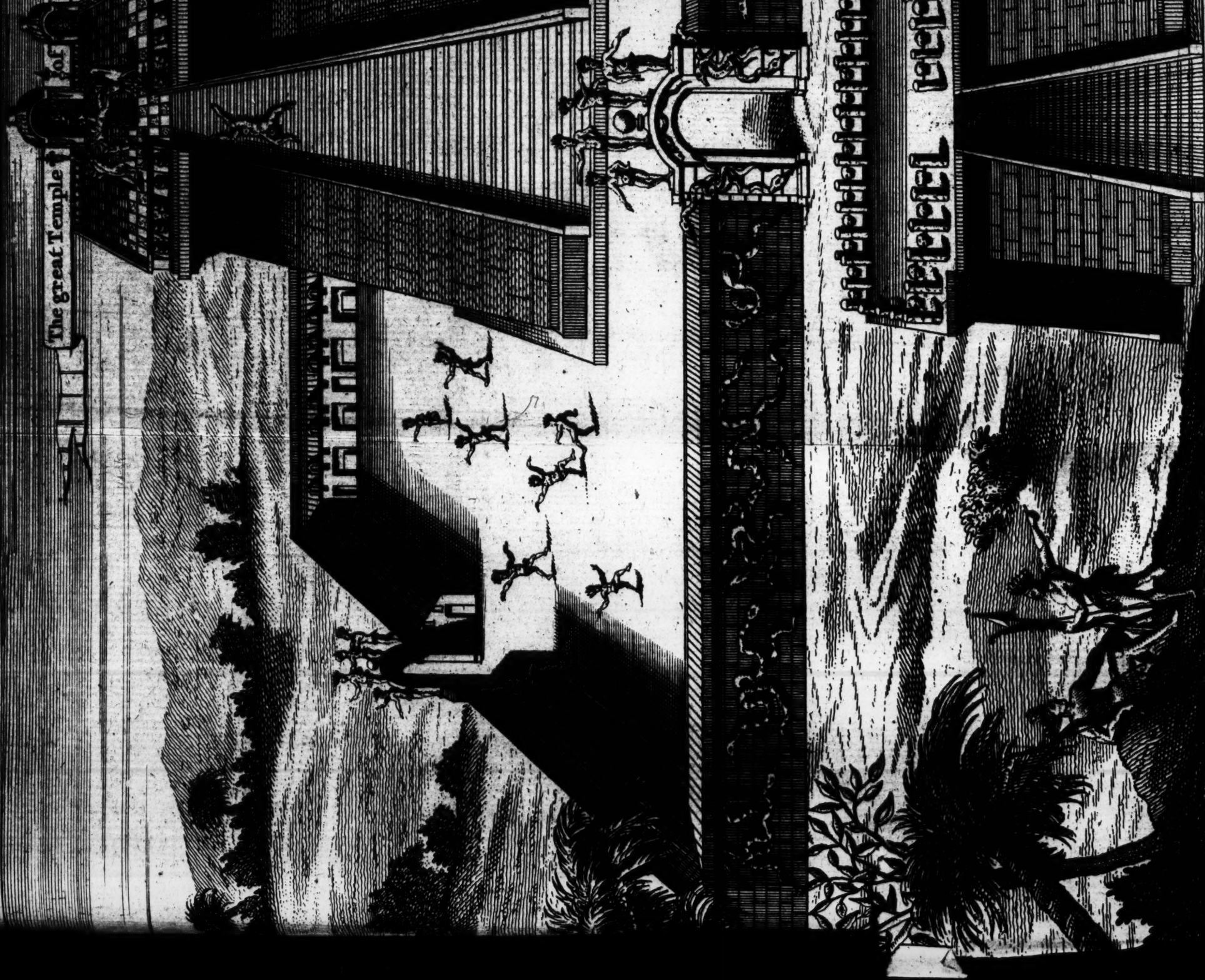
THEY had a House appointed for the Judges of Commerce, before whose Tribunal were decided all Differences between the Merchants: There were other inferior Officers, who went about the Fair, to prevent Frauds in Contracts; and made their Report to the principal Tribunal, of all Irregularities of that Sort, which deserved any kind of Punishment. The *Spaniards* were amazed (and with Reason) upon the first Sight of this Fair, at its Abundance, and Variety, with the good Order and Peace that was preserved in so vast a Multitude. A Spectacle worthy of Admiration; as it discovered at one View, the Grandeur and good Government of this Empire.

THE

THE Temples (if it be lawful to give them that Name) raised their stately Heads above the rest of their Buildings: And the largest, where the chief of those unclean Priests resided, was dedicated to the Idol *Vitzliputzli*, which signified the God of War, and was held to be the supreme of all their Deities: By the Supremacy of this God, it may be judged, how much they esteem'd the Military Art. The *Spanish* Soldiers called this Idol, *Huchilobos* by a corrupt Pronunciation: And so *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* writes it; making the same Slip with his Pen, as they did with their Tongues. Our Authors very much vary in the Description of this magnificent Edifice. *Antonio de Herrera* follows too closely *Francisco Lopez de Gomara*: Those who saw it at this Time had other Things to mind; and the rest drew the Plan of it according to their Fancies. We shall follow Father *Joseph de Acosta*, and other Authors, who were more exact, and better inform'd.

THE first Part of the Building was a great Square, with a Wall of hewn Stone, wrought on the Outside with various Knots of Serpents inter-twisted, which gave a Horror to the Portico, and were not improperly placed there. At a little Distance from the principal Gate was a Place of Worship, not less terrible: It was built of Stone with thirty Steps of the same, which went up to the Top, where was a kind of long flat Roof, and a great many Trunks of well grown Trees, fixed in it, in a Row, with
Holes





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Holes bored in them at equal Distances; and thro' which, from one Tree to another, passed several Bars run thro' the Heads of Men who had been sacrificed; of whose Number (which cannot be repeated without Horror) the Priests of the Temple took exact Account, placing others in the Room of those which had been wasted by Time. A lamentable Trophy, in which the Enemy of Mankind displayed his Rancour; and which these *Barbarians* always had in View, without the least Remorse! For Inhumanity put on the Mask of Devotion, and Custom had render'd Death in all its Terrors familiar to their Eyes.

THE four Sides of the Square had as many Gates opening to the four Winds. Over each of these Gates were four Statues of Stone, which seemed to point the Way, as if they were desirous to send back such as approached with an ill Disposition of Mind. These were presum'd to be *Threshold-Gods*, because they had some Reverences paid them at the Entrance. Close to the Inside of the Wall, were the Habitations of the Priests, and of those who, under them, attended the Service of the Temple, with some Offices, which altogether took up the whole Circumference, without retrenching so much from that vast Square, but that Eight or Ten Thousand Persons had sufficient Room to dance in it upon their solemn Festivals.

IN the Centre of this Square stood a Pile of Stone, which in the open Air exalted its lofty Head, overlooking all the Towers of the City, gradually

gradually diminishing till it form'd a half Pyramid; Three of its Sides were smooth, the Fourth had Stairs wrought in the Stone; a sumptuous Building, and extremely well proportioned: It was so high that the Stair-Case contain'd a Hundred and Twenty Steps, and of so large a Compass, that on the Top it terminated in a Flat, Forty Foot square: The Pavement was beautifully laid with Jasper Stones of all Colours: The Rails, which went round in Nature of a Balustrade, were of a Serpentine Form, and both Sides cover'd with Stones resembling Jet, plac'd in good Order, and join'd with white and red Cement, which was a very great Ornament to the Building.

ON the Opening of the Rails, where the Stairs ended, were two Marble Statues, which supported, in a Manner that admirably well express'd the Straining of the Arms, two huge Candlesticks of an extraordinary Make. A little farther was a green Stone, five Spans high from the Ground, which terminated in an Angle, and whereon they extended on his Back, the miserable Victim they were about to sacrifice, and open'd his Breast to take out his Heart. Beyond this Stone, fronting the Stair-Case, stood a Chapel of excellent Workmanship and Materials, cover'd with a Roof of precious Timber. Here the Idol was placed on a high Altar, behind Curtains: It was of human Figure, sitting in a Chair which had some Resemblance of a Throne, sustain'd by a blue Globe, which they call'd Heaven, from the Sides whereof
came

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came four Rods; with their Ends resembling the Heads of Serpents, which the Priests plac'd upon their Shoulders, when they expos'd their Idol to publick View. It had on its Head a Helm compos'd of Plumes of various Colours, in Form of a Bird, with a Bill and Crest of burnish'd Gold: Its Countenance was severe and horrible, and still more deform'd with two blue Bands, which bound its Forehead and its Nose. In the right Hand it held a curling Serpent, which serv'd for a Staff, and in the Left four Arrows, which they venerated as a Present from Heaven; and a Shield with five white Plumes placed in the Form of a Cross: And concerning these Ornaments, these Ensigns and Colours, they related many remarkable Extravagances, with a Seriousness deserving to be pitied.

ON the left Hand of this Chapel was another of the same Make and Bigness, with an Idol called *Tlaloch*, in every Respect resembling his Companion. They were esteem'd Brothers, and Friends to such a Degree, that they divided between them the Patronage of War, equal in Power, and unanimous in Inclination: For which Reason the *Mexicans* address'd them both with the same Prayers, the same Sacrifices, and the same Thanksgivings.

THE Ornaments of both Chapels were of inestimable Value; the Walls were hung, and the Altars cover'd with Jewels, and precious Stones, placed on Feathers of various Colours: And they had eight Temples in the City of

almost the same Architecture, and of equal Wealth; Those of a smaller Size amounted to two Thousand, and were dedicated to as many Idols, of different Names, Forms, and Attributes. There was scarce a Street without its Tutelar Deity; nor was there any Calamity incident to Nature without its Altar, to which they might have Recourse for a Remedy. In a Word, their Gods were derived from their Fears; nor did they reflect how they lessen'd the Power of some, by what they attributed to others. Thus did the Devil continually enlarge his Dominion, and exercise a most deplorable Tyranny over Rational Creatures, in the Possession of which he remain'd for so many Ages, by the incomprehensible Permission of the most High.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the different Pleasure-Houses which Motezuma had for his Recreation: His Armories, Gardens, and Country Retirements; with other remarkable Buildings, both within and without the City.

BESIDES the principal Palace, before describ'd, where *Motezuma* kept his Court, and that where the *Spaniards* were lodg'd, this Emperor had several Houses of Pleasure which adorn'd the City, and display'd his Grandeur. In one of them, a magnificent Structure,

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Structure, with great Galleries, supported by Pillars of Jasper, he had all Sorts of Birds which *New Spain* produc'd of any Value, either for their Feathers, or Singing; in which Diversity there were some very extraordinary, and till then unknown to *Europeans*. The Sea-Fowl were preserved in Salt Water Pools, and those which were bred in Rivers and Lakes, in others of Fresh Water. It is said they had Birds of five or six Colours, which they stripp'd of their Feathers in the proper Season, letting them live, that their Owners might again reap the Advantage of the new ones when grown. These were a Merchandize of great Value among the *Mexicans*; for they work'd them in their Cloaths, in Pictures, and in all their Ornaments. These Birds were in such Numbers, and the Care of preserving them was so great, that it gave Employment to above three hundred Men, skilful in the Knowledge of their Diseases, and oblig'd to supply them with such Food as they us'd to eat when they were at Liberty.

At a little Distance from this House, *Motezuma* had another of greater Extent and Variety, with Apartments capable of receiving himself, and his whole Court. There his Huntsmen resided, and there the Birds of Prey were kept; some in Cages neat and well made; and these were only to please the Eye: He had others on Perches, that were obedient to the Jesses, and tam'd for the Diversion of Hawking, for which Sport they have Birds of an excellent

Kind in that Country, like our Hawks, and no way inferior to them for their Docility in returning to their Lure, or for the Vigour with which they fouse upon their Prey. Among their Birds in Cages, were some so extremely fierce and large, that they appeared to be Monsters, and particularly the Royal Eagles, of an extraordinary Size, and prodigious Voracity. An Author reports, that one of these Eagles would devour a Sheep at a Meal : He is oblig'd to me, that I do not vouch him by Name, for a Story, which, in my Opinion, he swallow'd with too little Difficulty.

IN the second Square of the same House were the Wild Beasts, which were either Presents to *Motezuma*, or taken by his Hunters, in very strong Cages of Timber, rang'd in good Order, and under Cover : Lions, Tygers, Bears, and all others of the savage Kind, which *New Spain* produc'd ; among which, the greatest Rarity was the *Mexican Bull* ; a wonderful Composition of divers Animals : It has a Bunch on its Back like a Camel ; its Flanks dry, its Tail large, and its Neck cover'd with Hair like a Lion : It is cloven-footed, its Head armed like that of a Bull, which it resembles in Fierceness, with no less Strength and Agility. This Amphitheatre seem'd to the *Spaniards* worthy of a great Prince ; it being a Custom establish'd from all Antiquity, by the Number of Wild Beasts any Prince has in his Possession, to make an Estimate of the Grandeur of the Possessor.

IN

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IN another Part of this Palace, say some of our *Spanish* Writers, they daily fed a horrible Multitude of venomous Animals, preserv'd in different Vessels and Caverns, as Vipers, Rattle-Snakes, Scorpions, and even Crocodiles: But they add, that the *Spaniards* were not Eye-Witnesses of this poisonous Article of Magnificence, but only saw the Places where these Creatures were reported to be bred; which is sufficient Reason for me to regard this Part of the Story as improbable; believing rather, that it had no other Foundation than the Opinion of the *Indians*, and that this was a Sort of a Bugbear, invented by the Vulgar, to represent the savage Disposition of a Tyrant; particularly, when he is obey'd by Constraint, and cannot be mention'd without Fear.

OVER the Place where the Beasts were kept, was a very large Apartment for the Residence of Buffoons, and other Vermin of the Court, who served for the Diversion of the King: Even Monsters had a Place in this Set of Men; such as Dwarfs, Crooked, or Hump-back'd, and other Errors of Nature: Every Kind had their separate Habitations, and Masters apart to instruct them; and Persons employ'd to provide their Meals, and to attend them: And they were so punctually serv'd, that some Fathers, among the poorer Sort, would disfigure their Children for the Sake of that Conveniency, their Deformity being a sufficient Recommendation to introduce them.

NOR was the Grandeur of *Motezuma* less conspicuous in two Houses for his Arms; one where they were made, and the other where they were laid up in Store. In the first, the several Masters liv'd and work'd, distributed into different Shops, according to their Employments: In one Part they made the Sticks for the Arrows; In another they work'd Flint Stones for the Points: And all Sorts of Arms, offensive and defensive, had Workmen, and distinct Shops, with Overseers, who kept Account, according to their Manner, of the Quantity and Price of the Arms. The other House, which made a better Appearance, served for a Magazine to hold the Arms that were finish'd, every Kind apart: And from thence they were given out to the Armies, and Frontier Towns, as Occasion requir'd. In the highest Part they placed the Arms belonging to the King, which were hung round the Walls in excellent Order: On one Side the Bows, Arrows, and Quivers, with various Emboss'd-work of Gold and precious Stones: On another Two-handed Swords, and others of extraordinary Wood, with flint Edges, and most curious and costly Handles. In another Place the Darts, and missive Weapons were so well rang'd, and so neatly kept, not excepting even the Slings, that the Exactness of their Disposition was admirable. There were Head-Pieces and Breast-Pieces, plated over with curious Leaf-Work of Gold; great Number of Quilted Jackets which were Arrow-proof; beautiful Inventions of Shields or Bucklers made

III. Book III. *Conquest of Mexico.* 407

made of impenetrable Skins, which cover'd the whole Body, and which they carried roll'd up upon their Left Shoulders, till they were ready to engage. The *Spaniards* greatly wonder'd to behold such a prodigious Quantity of Arms, which appeared to be the Furniture not only of a Prince, but of a Martial Prince; and made an honourable Discovery as well of his Opulency as of his Genius.

To all these Houses he had spacious Gardens, most nicely cultivated. He was no Admirer of Fruit-Trees nor Kitchen Plants in his Gardens of Pleasure: For he used to say, That such kind of Gardens were for the inferior Rank of People; it being his Opinion, That Princes should have Regard to their Pleasure without any Mixture of Profit. There was nothing to be seen but Flowers of delightful Variety and Fragrancy, with Medicinal Herbs, set in Squares, and Summer-Houses where he used to sup. He took a particular Care to transplant into his Gardens all the choice Simples that benign Climate produced, where the only Study of the Physicians was to attain to the Knowledge of their Names and Properties. They had Herbs for all Kinds of Pains and Infirmities; and in the Juices and Application of these Herbs consisted all their Remedies, and with these they effected surprizing Cures, having by long Experience found out their Virtues, and without distinguishing the Cause of the Distemper, applying them to the Patient's great Benefit and Recovery.

THE King freely distributed to all who had Occasion for them such of his Simples as were prescrib'd by the Physicians, or desir'd by the Sick; and was wont to inquire if the Patient had received any Benefit therefrom, either gratifying a sort of Vanity he had in the successful Operation of his Medicines, or believing that he fulfill'd the Obligation of a Sovereign, in taking such Care of the Health of his Vassals.

IN all these Gardens, and Pleasure-Houses, he had many Fountains of sweet and wholesome Water, convey'd from the neighbouring Mountains by different Canals as far as the Causeys, whence in cover'd Pipes it was introduced into the City, for the Use whereof there were some publick Fountains; and he permitted some of the meaner Sort of People, tho' not without paying a considerable Tribute, to sell about the Streets what Water they brought from other Springs. The Conveniency of Fountains was very much increas'd in the Time of *Moteczuma*; for the great Conduit, which conveys a Current of fresh Water to *Mexico* from the Mountain of *Chapultepec*, about a League distant from the City, was a Work of his; and by his Order and Contrivance a vast Cistern of Stone was made for a Reservatory; raising the same to such a Height, as the Declivity for the Current requir'd: After this he gave Orders for a very thick Wall, with two open Canals made of Stone and Lime, of which one was always in Use, whenever the other required cleaning: A Building extremely useful; and

Moteczuma

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Motezuma valued himself so much upon the Invention, that he ordered his own Effigies, and that of his Father, which bore a pretty near Resemblance to his, to be engrav'd on two Stones, with an Ambition to perpetuate his Memory by so signal a Benefaction done to the City.

AMONGST all the Works of *Motezuma*, what surpriz'd the *Spaniards* most, was that call'd *the House of Sorrow*, to which he was wont to retire on the Death of his Relations, or in case of any Calamity, or ill Success, which required publick Demonstration of Grief. The Building inspir'd a kind of Horror; the Walls, Roofs, and Ornaments were all black, and had certain Slits in the Wall, or little Windows, which scarce gave any Light, or at least no more than was sufficient to discover the Obscurity. In this dismal Habitation he used to continue till the Time of Mourning was over, and often here the Devil appear'd to him; whether it be that the Prince of Darkness took Delight in this Abode of Horror, or for the Sympathy there is between that malignant Spirit and a melancholy Humour.

WITHOUT the City he had divers Country Retirements, and Houses of Pleasure, with many and large Fountains, which supplied the Bagnios and Fish-ponds with Water, and near them several Woods for different Kinds of Game: A Diversion he frequently us'd, and understood well, being very dexterous at his Bow and Arrow; and indeed Hunting was what principally delighted

delighted him; for he was accusom'd to go with his Nobles to a very spacious and pleasant Park, fenc'd round with a Canal of Water, where they brought and inclos'd the Game of the neighbouring Mountains; among which generally came some Lions and Tygers. He had a great Number of Men in *Mexico*, and the Villages round about, whose Business it was to go before, and by forming a great Ring, and contracting it by Degrees, to drive the Game into the appointed Place, not much unlike the Manner of our Huntsmen. These *Mexican Indians* were extremely bold and active in pursuing and overcoming the fiercest Animals, and *Motezuma* took great Delight in beholding the Combats of his Huntsmen with those Creatures, and sometimes he would let fly an Arrow, which was always applauded as a very great Action. But he never quitted his Chair, unless he was upon some commodious Eminence, with good Store of Darts and Arrows by him for the Security of his Person; not that he wanted personal Courage, or was any Thing inferior in Strength or Dexterity to the best of his Subjects; but because he look'd upon those voluntary Hazards as unbecoming his Majesty, believing, and not without a true Sense of his own Dignity, that no Dangers, but those of War, were worthy of a King.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Pomp, Ceremony, and Exactness with which Motezuma was serv'd in his Palace: Of the Expences of his Table, of his Audiences, and other Particulars relating to his Oeconomy and Diversions.

A GREENABLE to the Stateliness, Pride and Magnificence of the Buildings, was the Oeconomy of his House, and the Apparel, wherewith he us'd to adorn his Person, for the better maintaining the Reverence and Dread of his Vassals; to which End he invented new and excessive Ceremonies; laying aside, as a Fault, the great Humanity and Indulgence with which the *Mexican* Kings were wont to treat their Subjects. He augmented, as we have said, in the Beginning of his Reign, the Number, Quality and Splendor of the Royal Family; composing it wholly of the Nobility, of greater or lesser Distinction, according to their several Employments: A Point which was at first much opposed by his Council, who represented to him, That it was by no means proper to dissatisfy the Common People by intirely excluding them from his Service; notwithstanding which, he executed what his Vanity suggested: And it was one of his Maxims, That Princes ought to favour at a Distance those who either had no Sense of a Benefit, or wanted

wanted the Power to return it; and that Plebeian Minds were not fit to enter into the Confidence of a Sovereign.

He had Two Sorts of Guards, the One of Soldiers, so numerous that they fill'd the Courts of the Palace, and were posted in Bodies at the principal Gates: The other of Noblemen, introduc'd also in his Time, consisting of Two Hundred Men, of distinguish'd Quality, who were oblig'd to be every Day at the Palace, both to guard his Royal Person, and to make up the Number of his Courtiers. This Attendance of the Nobility was divided into *Tours*, and every Division had their set Days for entering upon Duty; and the Disposition was such, that it comprehended not only the Nobility of the City, but of the whole Kingdom: And when it was their Turns, they came to Court to discharge this Obligation from the most remote Parts of the Realm. Their Attendance was in the Anti-chambers, and they eat what was left at the King's Table. He us'd to permit some of them to enter into his Chamber, commanding them to be call'd, not so much for any particular Mark of his Favour to them, as to be satisfy'd if they attended, and to keep them all on their Duty. He valu'd himself upon having introduc'd that kind of Guard, and seem'd to have done it with Views of no ordinary Policy: For he us'd to tell his Ministers, that it serv'd to exercise the Obedience of the Nobility, and to keep them in a greater Dependency; besides, it gave him
an

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an Opportunity of knowing his Subjects, and employing them according to their several Capacities.

THE *Mexican* Emperors marry'd with Daughters of other Kings their Tributaries: And *Moteczuma* had Two Wives of this Quality, who bore the Title of Queens, lodg'd in separate Apartments with equal Splendor and Magnificence. The Number of his Concubines was exorbitant and scandalous; for we find it written, that there were more than Three Thousand Women in the Palace, including the Servants; and every Female of more than ordinary Beauty, that was to be met with throughout his whole Dominions, was brought thither, in order to gratify his lustful Appetite; for his Ministers and Tax-gatherers forced them from their Friends by Way of Tribute and Vassalage, treating the Debauchery of their Prince as a Point of Importance to the State.

THESE Women he, without any Difficulty, got rid of, and provided for them in such Manner, that others might supply his Place. They found Husbands among those of the best Quality; for they left the Court very rich, and, in the common Opinion, highly honour'd: So far were Chastity and Decency from being counted Virtues in a Religion which did not only permit, but even command the utmost Violence to natural Reason. He affected very much to have his Concubines lead a retir'd Life, and keep a strict Decorum in his House; and

and for that Purpose he had ancient Matrons, who narrowly observ'd the Behaviour of his Mistresses, without permitting the least Indecency to be acted amongst them; not that he set any Value upon Modesty, but because Jealousy was his predominant Passion. And this Care with which he endeavour'd to maintain a strict Decorum in his Family (in itself so reasonable and praise-worthy) was in him a Weakness without any Mixture of true Honour or Generosity, but purely the Effect of his other Passion.

HIS Audiences were neither easily obtain'd, nor very frequent, but they lasted long; and upon these Occasions he appear'd with great Splendor and Solemnity. The Great Men who had Admission into the Royal Apartment, assisted at them, with Six or Seven Counsellors of State to advise him in Case any Point of Difficulty was started. And there were several Secretaries, who marked in Characters, which serv'd them instead of Letters, the Resolutions and Decrees, every one according to his respective Employment. The Person who obtain'd Audience enter'd barefoot, and made three Reverences, without lifting his Eyes from the Ground: Saying at the first, Lord! at the second, My Lord! and at the third, Great Lord! He spoke in the most humble and submissive Terms, and retir'd in the same Manner he advanc'd; repeating his Reverences, never turning his Back, and keeping his Eyes fix'd on the Ground; for there were certain Officers by, who

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who severely punish'd the least Omission, and *Motezuma* was extremely rigorous in exacting those Ceremonies: A Care by no means blameable in Princes, for therein consists one of those Prerogatives which distinguish them from other Men; and the Delicacies of Royalty infuse into the Subject an awful Dread, very essential in its Effects. He listen'd with Attention, and answer'd with Severity, seeming to proportion his Voice to his Look. If any one was at a Loss in his Delivery, he endeavour'd to recover him, or order'd one of his Ministers to assist him, that he might speak with more Assurance. And to such a Man he would give a more favourable Dispatch, as finding in that respectful Fear, a Sort of an agreeable Discretion which flatter'd his Vanity. He valued himself much for the Gentleness and Humanity with which he suffer'd the Impertinencies of Petitioners, and the unaccountable Difference of their several Pretensions: The Truth is, upon these Occasions, he endeavour'd to correct the Impetuosity of his Temper; but it was not always that he could gain that Point: For the Violence he us'd would often give Way to his natural Bent, and indeed Pride under a Restraint but ill resembles Goodness.

HE eat alone, and very often in publick; but always with equal State and Solemnity. His Table was ordinarily cover'd with above Two Hundred Dishes, of different Meats adapted to his Palate, and some of those so savoury
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and exquisitely well season'd, that they not only pleas'd the *Spaniards* then, but have since been imitated in *Spain*; for there is no Nation so barbarous, but that it can boast of some Ingenuity, and has some Invention or other to gratify an inordinate Appetite.

BEFORE he sat down to Meat, he look'd over all the Dishes, to examine the different Dainties they contain'd; and having satisfy'd the Gluttony of his Eyes, he made Choice of those which pleas'd him most, and order'd the rest to be divided amongst the Nobles of his Guard. And this daily Profusion was but a small Part of the ordinary Expence of his Kitchen, for he kept Tables for all who liv'd in his Palace, and for as many others as were oblig'd to resort thither by Virtue of their Employments. His Table was large, but low, and he sat on a little Stool proportionable to the Table. The Cloths were of fine white Cotton, and the Napkins of the same, nothing near so broad as long. The Room where he eat was divided in the Middle by a Rail, which, without obstructing the Sight, kept the Crowd and his Domesticks at Distance.

WITHIN the Rails, and near the Table waited Three or Four ancient Servants, of those he most favour'd: And near the Rails, one of his principal Officers receiv'd the Dishes, which were brought by about Twenty Women magnificently apparel'd, who serv'd his Meat and gave him the Cup, with the same Reverence us'd to their Idols in the Temples. The
Dishes

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Dishes were of exceeding fine Earthen Ware, and were only us'd once, as were likewise the Table-Cloths, and Napkins, which were immediately divided amongst the Servants. He had Cups of Gold, and Salvers of the same; and sometimes he drank out of Cocoas, and natural Shells, very richly set with Jewels.

THEY had continually ready at Hand different Sorts of Liquors, which he call'd for as he fancy'd; some were finely perfum'd with the richest Odours, others mix'd with the Juices of salutiferous Herbs, nor did he ever want Confections of a less honest Quality, I mean Provocatives to Venery. He made moderate Use of Wine (or, more properly speaking, Beer,) a Liquor which the *Indians* make by infusing *Maiz* in boiling Water, and which disturbs the Brain as much as the strongest-bodied Wines: When he had done eating, he usually took a Kind of Chocolate, made after the Manner of the Country, that is, the Substance of the Nut beat up with the Mill till the Cup was fill'd more with Froth than with Liquor; after which he us'd to smook Tobacco perfum'd with liquid Amber. And this vicious Habit pass'd for a Medicine with the *Indians*, which withal had somewhat in it of Superstition; for the Juice of this Herb was one of the Ingredients with which the Priests were work'd up into Madness and Fury, as often as they were oblig'd to prepare themselves, by losing their Understanding, to receive the Devil's Oracles.

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HE had generally attending at his Table, Three or Four select Buffoons, who, among that Sort of Vermin, were most remarkable for their Pranks; and these endeavour'd to divert him in a Manner agreeable to Persons of their Character, who centre their whole Felicity in having the faculty to make others laugh; but too often cover their Want of Respect to their Company under Pretence of entertaining them. *Motexuma* us'd to say, That he suffer'd them near his Person only because they sometimes told him Truth: But he who seeks Truth among them discovers but little Relish of it, except he confounds it with Flattery. However, this was a Sentence taken Notice of among the rest of his good Sayings: And it is so far remarkable, that even a barbarous Prince was sensible of his Fault in admitting them, since he endeavour'd at a Reason to justify his so doing.

AFTER some little Repose his Musicians were wont to come in to divert him; and with a Sort of Flutes and Sea-Shells, notwithstanding the Difference of their Sounds, they form'd a Kind of Concert. They sung several Compositions, in various Sorts of Metre, which, tho' unequal in their Measures, had somewhat like Cadence, varying the Tones, not without some Method, into a Musick adapted to their Ear. The ordinary Themes of the Songs were the Exploits of their Ancestors, and the memorable Actions of their Kings; and these were sung in their Temples, and the Children learn'd

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learn'd them by Heart, to preserve the Achievements of the Nation from Oblivion, these Songs serving as a History to those who did not understand the Pictures and Hieroglyphicks of their Annals. They had likewise their merry Songs us'd in Dances, and accompanied with a strange confus'd Sort of Musick. They were so much addicted to this Kind of Diversion, and other Spectacles and Entertainments in which they succeeded very well, that they had almost every Night publick Festivals in some Quarter or other of the City, as well of the Nobility, as of the Common People; and now they were more frequent, and celebrated with greater Solemnity, to compliment the *Spaniards*; *Motexuma* himself not only encouraging, but even assisting at them in Person, contrary to his accusom'd Austerity; as being ambitious, that these idle Diversions should, among the rest of his Ostentation, contribute to display his Grandeur, and the Magnificence of his Court.

THE most remarkable of their Sports was a Dance they call'd *Mitotes*, compos'd of a prodigious Multitude of People, some of whom were most gorgeously attir'd, and others disguis'd under very extraordinary Figures. In this Dance the Nobles enter'd without any Distinction, mingling with the meaner Sort, to honour that Festival; nor were Examples wanting of their Kings having done the like. Their Musick consisted of Two little Drums, made of a hollow Piece of Wood, different in Big-

ness and Sound; Base and Treble, and not without some Kind of Harmony. They enter'd Two and Two, and after certain Movements and Figures, they form'd a Ring, all beating the Earth at once with their Feet, and keeping Time with their Hands, without ever being out; and when one Chorus was tir'd, another succeeded, with different Steps and Motions, like the *Tripudia* and *Chorus* celebrated by Antiquity; and in Conclusion they mingled all together with confus'd Shouts of Joy, until by drinking to each others Healths, they were intoxicated with their heady Liquor, in which they indulg'd themselves; for they thought it an Honour to drink plentifully upon that Occasion, and then the Feast either was at an End, or converted to some other more extravagant Folly.

At other Times the People assembled in the principal Squares, or in the Porches of their Temples, for the Diversion of several Shews and Games. There were Challenges to shoot at a Mark, or to give other Proofs of surprizing Dexterity in managing the Bow and Arrow. They us'd to run Races, and wrestle for Wagers, and publick Rewards were given to the Conqueror. Some of them were extremely active, and would dance on the Rope without a Pole; and others again would dance after a most amazing Manner, with another of these Rope-dancers upon their Shoulders. They play'd likewise at Ball, divided into equal Numbers against each other, with a Kind of

Bandy,

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Bandy, which rais'd very high the Ball, which now and then was a long while in the Air to and fro, till some one of the Parties struck it to the Mark, and thereby carry'd the Prize. The Victory was disputed with so much Solemnity, that the Priests, with a ridiculous Superstition, produc'd the *God of the Ball*, and placing him in Sight, conjur'd the Puppet, with certain Ceremonies, to correct the Hazards of the Play according to their fond Imagination, and to render Fortune impartial to both Sides. There were very few Days in which they had not some Sort or other of these Diversions in the City, and *Motexuma* was pleas'd with amusing the People in this Manner; not that he was so very fond of these Pastimes himself, or that he was ignorant of the Inconveniences, which must be forgiven or overlook'd in a disorderly Multitude; but he judg'd it necessary to divert those turbulent unquiet Spirits whose Fidelity he suspected. A miserable Capitulation of a Tyrant with his Subjects, to indulge them in those Incitements to Vice that they may not reflect on their Misery; and a more wretched Slavery of Tyranny, to be oblig'd to permit such Irregularities, in order to introduce Slavery under the Mask of Liberty.

C H A P. XVI.

An Account of Motezuma's immense Riches; the Manner of his managing the Royal Revenues, and of his administering Justice; with other Particulars of the Mexican Government, both Civil and Military.

SO great was the Wealth of *Motezuma*, that he was not only able to support the ordinary Expences and Diversions of his Court, but to maintain constantly Two or Three Armies in the Field, either to subdue his rebellious Subjects, or cover his Frontiers; and after all, there still remain'd a considerable Reserve in his Treasury. Exceeding great Profit did the Crown receive from the Mines of Gold and Silver, the Salt-Works, and other Rights establish'd from Time immemorial: But the largest Fund of the Royal Revenue, was from the Contributions of the Subject, which were most exorbitantly increas'd in the Reign of *Motezuma*. All the Husbandmen of this vast and populous Empire gave to the King one Third of the Produce of their Land and Stocks; the Tradesmen one Third of their Manufactures; and the poor People were oblig'd to work for the Court without Wages, or to acknowledge their Vassalage by some other personal Service.

SEVERAL Officers took their Circuits round the Kingdom, who, being assisted by the ordinary

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nary Magistrates, receiv'd and remitted the Tributes. These Officers depended on the Tribunal of the Royal Revenue residing in the Court, and were oblig'd to give an exact Account of the minutest Matter which their Districts produc'd; and the least Fraud or Neglect was punish'd with loss of Life; from whence ensued abundance of Rigour in exacting the Dues of the Crown; for Favour or Compassion in a Collector was deem'd a Crime of as heinous a Nature as Theft itself.

GREAT were the Clamours of the People, nor was *Moteczuma* ignorant of their Discontent; but the Oppression of his Vassals was one of the chief Maxims of his Government. And he would frequently say, That he was no Stranger to their evil Disposition, and was obliged to load them for his own Quiet; and that he should not be able to govern them, if he suffered them to grow rich; being still very ready at inventing Pretences and Colours which carried a Shew of Reason. All the Towns near the City furnished Men for the King's Works, provided Fuel for the Royal Palace, or contributed otherways at the Expence of their Communities.

THE Tribute of the Nobility was to guard the Emperor's Person, or serve in his Armies with a certain Number of their Vassals; besides which, they were continually making him Presents, which, tho' he received them as Gifts, it was still without quitting his Pretences to them as Dues. He had different Treasurers,

according to the several Kinds of Contributions: and the Tribunal of the Crown Revenue, issued out all that was necessary for the Expence of the Royal Houses, and Provisions of War, and took Care to make the best Advantage of the Overplus, by reducing it into something that would not decay, in order to preserve it in the principal Treasury, and particularly into Ingots of Gold, whose Value they well understood and esteem'd, without suffering the Plenty of it to make it less valuable: On the contrary, the Great Men fought after it, and hoarded it, either for the Excellency and Beauty of the Metal, or because it was design'd by Destiny rather to satisfy the covetous Desires, than relieve the Necessities of Mankind.

THE *Mexican* Government discovered a remarkable Harmony between the Parts that compos'd it. Besides the Council of the Revenue, which took Care, as we have said, of the Royal Patrimony, they had a Council of Justice which received Appeals from inferior Tribunals; a Council of War for the forming of Armies and Military Provisions; and a Council of State, which was generally held in the Presence of the King, and treated Matters of the greatest Importance. They likewise had a sufficient Number of Judges of Commerce, and other different Officers; as Provosts of the King's Court, who went their Rounds about the City to take up Delinquents. These Officers, as did likewise the *Alguaziles*, or Lieutenants,

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tenants, carry'd a Staff in their Hands as a Mark of Distinction, that their Office might be known. They held their Tribunal in a certain Part of the Town, where they heard the Parties, and immediately determin'd the Cause. Their Judgments were summary and verbal; both Sides appeared with their Claims and Witnesses, and the Cause was presently decided, except it happened to be a Case of Appeal to a superior Tribunal. They had no written Laws, but were governed according to the Institutions of their Ancestors; Custom upon all Occasions supplying the want of Laws, where the Pleasure of the Prince did not interpose to make Innovations. All these Councils were composed of Men experienced both in War and Peace; and the Council of State, which was superior to all the rest, was form'd of the Electors of the Empire, which was a Dignity conferr'd upon the antient Princes of the Royal Blood: And when Matters of great Consequence were to be discuss'd, they summon'd to the Council the Kings of *Texcuco* and *Tacuba*, who were principal Electors, and had this Prerogative by Succession. The Four chief Counsellors always resided in the Palace, and attended near the King's Person, to declare their Opinions upon whatever offer'd, and to give his Decrees the greater Authority among the People.

REWARDS and punishments were dispensed with equal Care. Murther, Theft, Adultery, or any light Disrespect towards the King, or
their

their Religion, were Capital Crimes. All other Misdemeanours were easily pardon'd; for their very Religion itself disarm'd Justice by tolerating Vice. Corruption in the Ministers was also punish'd with Loss of Life, and no Crime was look'd upon as Venial in those who served in publick Employments: This Custom *Moteczuma* observed with the utmost Rigour, having People of special Trust to examine into their Conduct, and even to offer them Bribes; and he who was found deficient in any Part of his Duty was infallibly punish'd with Death: A Severity worthy of a less barbarous Prince, and a more civiliz'd Commonwealth. However, it cannot be deny'd, but that the *Mexicans* had some Moral Virtues, and particularly, that they administer'd, with great Integrity, that Kind of Justice with which they were acquainted, and which was sufficient to redress Injuries, and maintain Society among Fellow Citizens: For, notwithstanding their Abuses and Beastialities, they preserved some Knowledge of that primitive Equity which Nature bestow'd on Men, when as yet they had no Laws, because they were ignorant of Crimes.

ONE of the most laudable Articles of their Policy was the Education of Children, and the great Application with which they examin'd and form'd their Inclinations. They had publick Schools for the Instruction of the *Plebeians*, and Colleges, and other considerable Seminaries, well endow'd, where the Sons of the Nobility

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Nobility were educated from their very Infancy, and where they continued till they were in a Capacity to make their Fortunes, or follow their Inclinations. They had their respective Masters for Infants, Children, and Youths, who had the Authority of the King's Ministers, and were reputed as such; and not without Reason, as they took Care of those Rudiments and Exercises which afterward fitted Men for the Service of the Common-wealth. They taught them to decypher those Characters and Figures of which they compos'd their Writings; and they made them learn by Heart their historical Songs which contained the Actions of their Ancestors, and the Praises of their Gods. From hence they went to another Class, where they were taught Modesty, Civility, and even a gentile Behaviour, according to some Authors. These second Masters, or Tutors, were of greater Reputation and Abilities than the first; for it lay upon them to contend with the Inclinations of Youth, which loves not to be corrected, nor to have its Passions broke.

BEING arrived to some Degree of Knowledge, and brought up in this Sort of Subjection, they pass'd on to the Third Class, where they employ'd themselves in more robust Exercises: They try'd their Strength in carrying Weights, and in Wrestling: They vied with each other in Leaping and Running: They were taught how to manage their Arms, use the two-handed Sword, throw the Dart, and, with Force and Exactness, to shoot the Arrow. Then they
were

were made to suffer Hunger and Thirst, and resist the Inclemencies of the Weather, till they returned to their Father's Houses well instructed and inur'd to Hardships, to be engag'd, according to the Information the Masters gave of their Inclinations and Capacities, either in the Employments of Peace, War, or Religion; Three Paths where Noblemen had to chuse, almost equal in Repute, tho' that of War had the Precedence, as carrying them to a higher Degree of Honour.

THEY had also other Colleges of Matrons dedicated to the Worship of their Gods, for the Educating of young Women of Quality; who were there plac'd from their Childhood under the Direction of these Women, and confined very strictly, till they went out to be settled in the World, with the Approbation of their Parents, and Licence of the Emperor; having arriv'd at a Perfection in every Occupation suitable to their Sex.

THE Sons of Nobles, (at parting from those Seminaries) who were inclined to War, pass'd another Trial worthy of Consideration; for their Fathers sent them to the Armies that they might become acquainted with the Hardships of a Campaign, and know what it was that they undertook before they enrolled themselves in the Service: And they used to place them among the common Baggage-Men, with a Load of Provision on their Shoulders, to mortify their Vanity, and to inure them to Fatigue.

NONE

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NONE were admitted to this Profession who changed Countenance at the Sight of an Enemy, or who did not give some Proofs of his Valour; so that these Novices did great Service in the Time of their Probation: For every one was desirous to signalize himself by some particular Action, throwing himself headlong into the greatest Dangers; being persuaded, that in order to their being rank'd with valiant Men, some Temerity was necessary for laying the Foundation of Fame.

IN nothing did the *Mexicans* place their Felicity so much, as in Military Exploits; for their Kings regarded the Profession of War as the principal Foundation of their Power, and the Subjects, as a Virtue peculiar to their Nation. It was by this, that *Plebeians* rose to the Degree of Nobles, and Nobles to the greatest Employments of the Empire; which animated all to the Service: Or at least, all those aspir'd to Military Virtue, who were born with Ambition, or had Spirit enough to rise above their Sphere. Every Town had a regulated *Militia*, with certain Privileges and Immunities which distinguished the Soldiers from the rest of the Inhabitants. Their Armies were formed with Ease; for the Princes of the Empire, and *Caziques*, or Governors of Provinces were obliged to repair to the Place of Arms appointed them with their *Quota* of Men: And it is esteemed a mighty Instance of the Grandeur of the *Mexican* Empire, that *Moteczuma* had Thirty Vassals so powerful, that each could bring into the

the Field a Hundred Thousand armed Men. These commanded their respective Armies in Person, under the Authority of a Captain-General, whose Orders they obey'd, as representing the Person of the Emperor, when he was not himself in the Field; which rarely happened: for those Princes esteemed it as a lessening of their Authority to be absent from their Armies, and thought it very impolitick to trust their Force in the Hands of another.

THEIR Manner of engaging was the same which we have described in the Battle of *Tabasco*; but their Troops were better disciplin'd, and the Soldiers more obedient: They had more Nobles to head them, and greater Hopes of Reward. They quickly discharged their missive Arms to make Use of their Swords, and very often of their Hands; for it was reckoned a greater Action to make a Captive, than to kill an Enemy; and he was accounted the bravest Man who brought most Prisoners to the Sacrifice. The Military Employments were much esteemed, and well supported; for *Motezuma* rewarded with great Liberality those who distinguished themselves in Battle, and had himself so martial a Genius, and was so zealous for the Reputation of his Arms, that he invented honourable Rewards for the Nobles who served in the Wars; instituting certain Military Orders, with their peculiar Habits and Marks, which gave both Honour and Distinction. Some were called Knights of the *Eagle*, others of the *Tyger*, and a third of the *Lyon*,
and

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and they bore the Device of their Order either painted on their Robe, or hanging to it. He founded also another Order of Knighthood superior to these, to which only Princes were admitted, or Nobles descended from a Royal Line: And to add thereto the greater Honour, he took the Habit himself. These Knights had Part of their Hair bound with a Red Ribband, and among the Plumes which adorned the Head, Tassels of the same Colour, which hung down upon the Shoulders, more or less, according to the Actions of the *Cavaliers*, which were known by the Number of Tassels, which were augmented with great Solemnity, as they signaliz'd themselves by new Exploits; so that there was always Room to increase this Dignity by some fresh Atchievement in War.

WE cannot but commend in the *Mexicans* the generous Ardour with which they aspired to these honourable Rewards, and in *Moteczuma* the Merit of inventing them: For as this is Money the most easily coin'd, so it holds the first Rank among the Treasures of a Prince.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVII.

*An Account how the Mexicans measur'd
and computed their Months and Years.
Their Festivals, Marriages, with other
Rites and Customs worthy of Remark.*

THE *Mexicans* had dispos'd and regulated their Kalendar after a very notable Method. They adjusted it by the Motion of the Sun, making his Altitude and Declination the Measure of Times and Seasons. They allow'd their Year Three Hundred Sixty Five Days, as we do, but they divided them into Eighteen Months, assigning to each Month Twenty Days, which made Three Hundred and Sixty; the other Five, which were a Kind of Inter-calary Days, they added at the End of the Year, to make it answer the Course of the Sun. During these Five Days (which they believ'd were left purposely by their Ancestors as Days of Vacation) they gave themselves up wholly to Idleness, and only study'd how to lose that Overplus of Time. Tradesmen left off Work, and shut up their Shops; the Business of the Tribunals ceas'd, and the very Sacrifices in their Temples: They visited each other, and all People endeavour'd to entertain themselves with Variety of Diversions, signifying that by this Intermission they were preparing themselves anew for the Works and Labours of the ensuing

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suſing Year, whose Beginning they plac'd on the First Day of the Spring, differing from the Solar Year, according to the Computation of Astrologers, only Three Days, which they took from our Month of *February*.

THEY had also their Weeks, of Thirteen Days, with different Names, which they mark'd in their Kalendar by Images. Their Ages consisted of Four Weeks of Years; the Method and Distribution of which were very artful and notable, and carefully preserv'd for a Memorial of all that happen'd. They made a great Circle, which they divided into Fifty-two Degrees, allowing a Year for every Degree. In the Centre they painted the Effigies of the Sun, from whose Rays proceeded Four Lines of different Colours, which equally divided the Circumference, leaving Thirteen Degrees to each Semidiameter; and these Divisions serv'd as Signs of their *Zodiack*, upon which their Ages had their Revolutions, and the Sun his Aspects, prosperous or adverse, according to the Colour of the Line. In a larger Circle, inclosing the other, they mark'd, with their Figures and Characters, the Accidents of the Age, and all Occurrences which had happen'd worthy of Memory. And these secular Maps were as publick Instruments, which serv'd for a Proof of their History. It may be reckon'd among the wisest Institutions of their Government, that they had Historiographers capable of handing down to Posterity, the Exploits of their Nation.

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THEY had a Mixture of Superstition in the Computation of their Ages; for they were taught, that the World was in Danger of Destruction, when the Sun had finish'd the Revolution of those Four greater Weeks; and when the last Day of the Fifty-two Years was come, all the People prepar'd themselves for that dreadful and ultimate Calamity. They took Leave of the Light with Tears, and expected Death without any previous Sickness: They broke their Household Vessels, as unnecessary Lumber; they extinguish'd their Fires, walking about all the Night like distracted People, without daring to take any Rest, till they knew whether they were to be for ever consign'd to the Regions of Darkness. But upon the Dawning of the Day, they began to recover their Spirits, with their Eyes fix'd towards the East; and at the first Appearance of the Sun, they saluted him with all their Musical Instruments, with Hymns, and Songs which express'd their confus'd Joy: Then they congratulated each other upon their being secure of the World's Duration for another Age, immediately crowded to their Temples to render Thanks to their Gods, and to receive from the Priests new Fire, which they kept burning with the greatest Violence before the Altars, being constantly fed with dry Wood. Next they made anew all Provision for their necessary Subsistence, and this Day was celebrated with publick Rejoicings, and the Dancing and other Diversions were dedicated thro' the whole City

to

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to the Renewal of Time, much after the same Manner wherewith *Rome* celebrated her *Secular Games*.

THEIR Emperors receiv'd the Crown upon Conditions very particular : For the Election being made after the Manner already observ'd, the new King was oblig'd to take the Field with the Forces of the Empire, and obtain some Victory over his Enemies, or subdue some Rebels, or some neighbouring Province, before he was crown'd, or permitted to ascend the Royal Throne. A Custom worthy of Observation, and the chief Means by which this Monarchy rose to such a Height in so few Years. So soon as the victorious Prince was found to be qualify'd for the Regal Dignity by the Success of his Enterprize, he return'd triumphantly to the City, and made his publick Entry with great State and Solemnity : All the Nobility, Ministers, and Priests, accompany'd him to the Temple of the God of War, where he alighted from his Chair, and after having offer'd the customary Sacrifices, the Electoral Princes cloath'd him in Royal Robes, arming his Right-Hand with a Sword of Gold, edg'd with Flint, the Ensign of Justice ; and his Left with a Bow and Arrows, signifying his Power and Command in War : Then the King of *Tezcucó* plac'd the Crown upon his Head, by a Privilege belonging to him as First Elector.

AFTER this, one of the most eloquent Magistrates made a long Harangue, wishing him Joy of the Dignity, in the Name of the whole

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Empire; and added some Documents, representing the Troubles and Cares that attend a Crown, with the Obligations he lay under to regard the Publick Good of his Kingdoms; recommending to him the Imitation of his Ancestors. This Speech being ended, the Chief of the Priests approach'd him with great Reverence, and from his Hand the King took an Oath, with Circumstances very observable. First, he swore to maintain the Religion of his Ancestors: That he would observe the Laws and Customs of the Empire: That he would treat his Vassals with Lenity: That during his Reign they should have seasonable Rains: That no Inundations of Rivers, Sterility of Soil, or malignant Influences of the Sun should happen. A notable Compact between a King and his Vassals, and ridicul'd by *Justus Lipsius*! But we may venture to say, that by this Oath, they endeavour'd to oblige him to reign with such Moderation, that he might not by any Action of his own, draw down the Indignation of Heaven; as not being ignorant that these Kinds of Chastisements, and publick Calamities, fall sometimes on the Subjects for the Sins and Exorbitances of the Prince.

FOR the rest of the Rites and Customs of this Nation, we shall only touch on those which deserve a Place in History, omitting their Superstitions, Indecencies, and Obscenities, which would defile the Narration, tho' told without Offence to Truth.

AMIDST

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AMIDST such a Multitude of Gods, as we have before observ'd, and such Obscurity and Blindness in their Idolatry, they still acknowledg'd a Superior Deity, to whom they attributed the Creation of the Heavens, and the Earth: And this Original of all Things was, amongst the *Mexicans*, a God without a Name, there being no Word in their Language whereby to express him. They only signify'd that they knew him, by looking up towards Heaven with Veneration, and giving him, after their Way, the Attribute of Ineffable, with the same religious Uncertainty with which the *Athenians* worship'd the *Unknown God*. But this Knowledge of the first Cause which, in Appearance, should have facilitated their being undeceiv'd, was of little Use upon that Occasion; for it was impossible to make them believe that this same Deity could govern the whole Universe without the Assistance of other Gods, tho' in their Apprehension he had the Power to create it; and they were persuaded, that there were not any Gods in the other Parts of Heaven, till Men began to become miserable in Proportion as they multiplied; looking on the Gods as favourable *Genii*, who were produc'd when there was Occasion for them; without being in the least shock'd at the Absurdity of supposing them to owe their Being and Divinity to the Miseries of human Nature.

THEY believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, with eternal Rewards and Punishments in a

future State; little understanding at the same time the Nature of Virtue and Vice: And this Truth was obscur'd with other Errors; for they buried great Quantities of Gold and Silver with their Dead, to bear the Expences of their Journey, which they believ'd to be both long and troublesome. They put to Death some of their Servants to accompany them; and it was a common thing for Wives to celebrate the Exequies of their Husbands with their own Death. Princes were oblig'd to have Monuments of a vast Extent; for the greatest Part of their Riches and Family were interr'd with them; both the one and the other in Proportion to their Dignity and Grandeur. The whole Number of Household Officers were oblig'd to accompany the Prince into the other World, together with some Flatterers among them, who at that Time suffer'd for the Deceit of their Profession. The Bodies were carry'd with great Pomp and Solemnity to the Temples, from whence their Priests came forth to receive them, with their Copper Censers, singing to the Sound of hoarse and ill-tun'd Flutes, Hymns and Funeral Elegies, in a dismal melancholy Tone. They often rais'd up on high the Bier, during the voluntary Sacrifice of those miserable Wretches, who had devoted both Bodies and Souls to Slavery. A Ceremony of remarkable Variety, compos'd of ridiculous Abuses, and deplorable Barbarities!

THEIR

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THEIR Marriages bore the Form of Contracts, with some religious Ceremonies. The preliminary Articles being all agreed upon, the Couple appear'd in the Temple, and one of the Priests examin'd their Inclinations by certain ceremonial Questions, appointed by Law for that Purpose: After that he took the Tip of the Woman's Veil with one Hand, and one Corner of the Husband's Garment in the other, tying the same together at the Ends, to signify the interior Tye of their Affections. Under this Sort of Nuptial Yoke, they return'd to their Habitation, accompany'd by the same Priest, where imitating the Superstition of the *Romans* with regard to their *Dii Lares*, or Household Gods, they paid a Visit to the Domestic Fire, which they believ'd to be concern'd in the Union between the married Pair: They went round it Seven times, following the Priest; after which they sat down to receive their equal Share of the Heat, and then the Marriage was thought to be accomplish'd. They register'd in a publick Instrument, the Portion brought by the Bride, every Part whereof the Husband was oblig'd to restore, in case they parted, which very frequently happen'd; for mutual Consent was judg'd a sufficient Cause for a Divorce: A Case in which the Law never interfer'd, but left it to the Parties concern'd, who best knew each other, to be their own Judges. The Girls remain'd with the Mother, and the Boys went with the Father; but when once the Marriage was thus

F f 4

dissolv'd,

dissolv'd, it was inevitable Death for them to come together again: So that notwithstanding the natural Inconstancy of that fickle Nation, the Danger of attempting to have any Cohabitation after a Divorce was no small Check upon them, and prevented many a Couple from parting. They were very careful of the Virtue and Conduct of their Wives, as a Point in which their Honour was nearly concern'd; and amidst that boundless Licentiousness and Liberty with which they indulg'd their sensual Appetites, they abhorr'd and punish'd Adultery with the utmost Rigour; not so much upon Account of the Atrocity of the Vice, as for the Inconveniencies which attend-
ed it.

THEIR new-born Infants were carry'd to the Temples with Solemnity, and the Priests receiv'd them with certain Admonitions, concerning the Troubles to which they were born. If they were the Sons of Nobles, they put a Sword into the Child's Right-Hand, and upon his Left Arm a Shield, kept in the Temple for that Purpose. If of Plebeian Extraction, they put into their Hands mechanical Instruments; and the Females of both Degrees had only the Distaff and Spindle, signifying to each the Kind of Employment which Destiny had prepar'd for them. This First Ceremony being over, they were brought up to the Altar, and there with a Thorn of *Magney*, or a Lancet of Flint, they drew some Drops of Blood from the Privy-Parts; after which they either sprinkled
them

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them with Water, or dipp'd them into it, using at the same Time certain Invocations. In which Ceremony it should seem that the Devil, the Inventer of these Rites, was ambitious to imitate Baptism and Circumcision, with the same Pride with which he endeavour'd to counterfeit the other Ceremonies, and even the Sacraments of the Catholick Church; since he introduc'd among these Barbarians the Confession of Sins, giving them to understand, that thereby they obtain'd the Favour of their Gods. He instituted likewise a ridiculous Sort of Communion, which the Priests administred upon certain Days in the Year, dividing into small Bits an Idol made of Flour, mix'd up into Past with Honey, which they call'd *The God of Penitence*. They had likewise Jubilees, Processions, Offerings of Incense, and other Forms of Divine Worship: Nay, they even gave their Chief Priests the Title of *Popes* in their Language; by which we find, that this Imitation cost Satan a very particular Study and Application, whether with a Design to abuse and prophane the Sacred Mysteries and Ceremonies, by mingling them with his Abominations, or that he cannot yet repent of his Ambition, but is still aspiring and affecting to imitate the Most High.

THE rest of the Rites and Ceremonies of these miserable Heathens were shocking and horrible, both to Reason and Nature: Bestialities, and incongruous, stupid Absurdities, which seem'd altogether incompatible with the
Regularity

Regularity and admirable Oeconomy which was observed in the other Parts of that Government; and would scarce be believ'd, were not Histories full of Examples of the like Weaknesses and Errors of Human Capacities in other Nations, who are no less blind, tho' in Parts of the World where they have the Means of being more enlighten'd. Sacrifices of Human Blood began much about the same Time with Idolatry; and many Ages ago the Devil introduc'd them amongst those Nations, from whom the *Israelites* learn'd to sacrifice their Sons to the Idols of *Canaan*. The horrible and detestable Custom of Mens eating each other, has been seen practis'd many Ages since amongst other barbarous People of our Hemisphere, as *Galatia* confesses in her Antiquities, and *Scythia* in her *Anthropophagi*. Logs of Wood worship'd for Deities, superstitious Auguries, the furious Agitations of Priests, their Communication with the Devil by his Oracles, and other Absurdities equally abominable, have been admitted, and revered by other Gentiles, who were otherwise endowed with great Sense, and were perfectly well skill'd in Morality and Politicks. *Greece* and *Rome* wanted the Knowledge of the true Religion, tho' in every Thing else they gave Laws to the whole World, and left edifying Examples to Posterity. From all this we are oblig'd to confess the Deficiency and the small Extent of human Wisdom, which reaches but a very little farther than the superficial Knowledge it receives from the Senses and

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and Experience, whenever that reveal'd Light, by which we discover the very Essence of Truth itself, is wanting. The *Mexican* Religion was therefore no other than a detestable Compound of all the Errors and Abominations, which had been received among the Gentiles in the different Parts of the World.

WE shall not enter into the Detail of their particular Festivals and Sacrifices, their Ceremonies, Sorceries, and Superstitions; not only because we meet them at every Step, with tedious Repetitions, in all the Histories of the *Indies*, but because it is our Opinion we cannot be too cautious how we give our Pen too large a Scope upon a Subject of this Nature; and at the best, we look upon it as an unnecessary Lesson, as affording the Reader little Pleasure, and much less Profit.

C H A P. XVIII.

Moteczuma continues his Entertainments and Presents to the Spaniards. Letters brought from Vera-Cruz with an Account of the Battle wherein Juan de Escalante lost his Life: Upon which Cortes resolves to secure the Person of Moteczuma.

THE *Spaniards* observed all these Novelties not without great Admiration, tho' they endeavour'd to conceal and dissemble their Surprise; and it cost them some Pains to

to compose their Countenances upon these Occasions, that they might maintain the Superiority they affected over those People. The first Days were taken up in various Pastimes and Diversions. The *Mexicans* gave splendid and ostentatious Proofs of their Abilities, with a Desire of entertaining their Guests, and not without an Ambition of displaying their Dexterity in the Management of their Arms, and their Activity in all their other Exercises. *Moteczuma* encourag'd those Shews and Entertainments, laying aside all Majesty, contrary to his accustom'd Pride and Reservedness. Upon all Occasions he took *Cortes*, attended by his Captains, along with him, and treated him with a Deference and Respect full of Humanity, which appeared prodigious in one of his Character, and occasioned those who knew him to have the greater Esteem for the *Spaniards*. Their Visits were frequent and punctual; *Cortes* went to the Palace, and *Moteczuma* to the *Spanish* Quarters. The Emperor was continually admiring every Thing that came from *Spain*, believing it to be a Part of Heaven; and so high an Idea he had of the King, that it exceeded the Conceptions he entertain'd of his Gods. He was ever endeavouring to gain the Affection of the *Spaniards*, by distributing Curiosities and Jewels amongst the Captains and Soldiers, not without Discernment and Distinction of Merit; for he caress'd most of the Officers of Distinction, and knew how to proportion the Gift to the Importance of the Person

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Person whom he design'd to oblige. The Nobility, in Imitation of their King, were ambitious to render themselves agreeable to all the Strangers, by treating them with a Respect that favour'd of Submission: As for the Populace, they bent their Knees to the meanest of the *Spanish* Soldiers. In this Manner they enjoy'd an agreeable Repose, with something continually new to divert, and nothing to disturb them. But they were not long without Occasion of Disquiet; for about this Time there came two *Tlascalan* Soldiers to the City through By-ways, disguised in the Habits of *Mexicans*, who going privately to *Cortes*, gave him a Letter from *Vera-Cruz*, which chang'd the Face of Affairs, and forc'd him upon Resolutions less pacifick.

JUAN DE ESCALANTE, who, as we have said before, had the Government of the New Colony, was employ'd in continuing his Fortifications, and preserving his Correspondence with those *Indian* Friends whom *Cortes* had left him; and remain'd in this State of Tranquility without any Accident, till he received Advice, that one of *Motexuma's* Generals was marching up and down in that Province with a considerable Army, committing Hostilities upon some Towns with which he had settled an Alliance, which depending upon the Protection of the *Spaniards*, refused to pay their accustom'd Tribute. This General's Name was *Qualpopoca*, and commanded all the Forces that were cantoned upon the Frontiers of *Zempoala*; and having assembled them to support the

the Commissaries appointed to gather the Tax, he committed great Disorders, Extortions, and Violences upon those People, accompanying the Rigour of the Officers with the Licentiousness of the Soldiery; both the one and the other, a Sort of People insatiably greedy, who commonly call pillaging the Subject, serving the Prince.

THE *Totonaques*, who inhabited the hilly Country, and whose Dwellings those Troops were then destroying, were the first who complained. They beseeched *Juan de Escalante* to take up Arms in Defence of his Confederates, and offered to assist in the Undertaking with their whole remaining Strength. He comforted them with the Assurance that he resented their Injuries as done to himself: But before he would proceed to Extremities, he resolved to send Messengers to the *Mexican* General, desiring him, in a friendly Manner, “ That he would suspend his Hostility, until
“ such Time as he should receive fresh Orders
“ from the Emperor, since it was not possible
“ for him to have authoriz’d a Proceeding of
“ that Kind, when he had admitted to his
“ Court Ambassadors from the Eastern Mon-
“ arch, to set on Foot a Treaty of Peace and
“ Confederacy between the two Crowns.” This Message was carried by two *Zempoalans*, Men of good Address, residing in *Vera-Cruz*; and the Answer of the *Mexican* was insolent and injurious: “ That he was very well able
“ to comprehend and execute the Orders of
his

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“ his Prince; and if any one should pretend
“ to divert him from the Chastisement of those
“ Rebels, he likewise knew how to maintain
“ in the Field what he had undertaken.”

JUAN DE ESCALANTE could not dissemble his Resentment; nor was it fit for him to refuse the Challenge in the View of those *Indians*, who were interested in the Success of the *Totonagues*, who ran the same Risque, and had put themselves under the same Protection: Wherefore having inform'd himself that the Gross of the Enemies Body did not exceed four thousand Men, he immediately assembled two thousand *Indians*, the greatest Part of whom were *Totonagues* of the hilly Country; who being either such as had fled before *Qualpopoca*, or, irritated by his Violences, came to shelter themselves under *Escalante's* Protection; at the Head of which Number, well appointed after their Manner, and forty *Spaniards*, two of them arm'd with Arquibuses, and three with Cross-Bows, and with two Pieces of Artillery, he began his March towards those Towns which wanted his Assistance, leaving *Vera-Cruz* but weakly garison'd.

QUALPOPOCA had Notice of his Motions, and advanc'd to receive him, with all his Troops in exceeding good Order, near a small Village, since call'd *Almeria*. A little after Day-break both Armies came in Sight of each other, and engag'd with equal Resolution; but in a little while the *Mexicans* gave Way, and began to retire

retire in great Disorder. It happen'd at the same Time, that the *Totonagues* of our Party, either not being inur'd to War, or, from the accustom'd Dread they had of the *Mexicans*, were dispirited, and lagg'd behind, till at last they betook themselves to Flight, and could not be prevail'd to rally, either by Persuasion, Compulsion, or Example: A rare Accident, which must be reckon'd among the unaccountable Events which happen in War, when the Conquerors fly from the Conquered! The Enemy fled with Precipitation and Dread, and were so careful of their own Safety, that they did not observe how much our Troops were diminish'd, but only did what they could, in a disorderly Manner, to retire to the next Town, whither *Juan de Escalante* pursued them, with little more than his forty *Spaniards*; and immediately commanding the Place to be fired in different Parts, attack'd them at the same Time with so much Resolution, that, without giving them Leisure to discover the Smallness of his Numbers, he broke, and intirely dislodg'd them, obliging them to turn their Backs and disperse themselves in the Woods. The *Indians*, after the Action was over, affirm'd that they saw in the Air a Woman, resembling her whom the Strangers worship'd for the Mother of their God, who dazzled and astonish'd them in such a Manner, that she depriv'd them of Strength or Power to stand their Ground. This Miracle did not manifest itself to the *Spaniards*, but the Success they met with made

it

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it credible; and the Soldiers were now all accustomed to share with Heaven the Glory of their Exploits.

THIS was a very signal Victory, but it cost the *Spaniards* dear; for *Juan de Escalante* was mortally wounded, with seven other Soldiers, of which Number the *Indians* carry'd off *Juan de Arguillo*, a Native of *Leon*, a Man of an extraordinary Stature, and very great Strength, who fell, valiantly fighting, at a Time when he could not be succour'd: The rest all died of their Wounds at *Vera-Cruz*, within three Days.

OF this Loss, with all its Circumstances, the Council of *Vera-Cruz* sent *Cortes* an Account, that he might name a Successor to *Juan de Escalante*, and be appriz'd of the Posture of his Affairs in those Parts. *Cortes* read the Letter, with the Concern that such a Piece of ill News requir'd. He communicated the same to his Captains, and without entering at that Time into all its Consequences, or discovering the Whole of his Chagrin, he desir'd them to reflect upon this Accident, and to give him Time for the forming such a Resolution as it should please God to inspire, recommending very particularly to Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* to contribute to it by his Prayers, and to all in general to keep the News secret, that a Disaster of such Importance might not come to the Ears of the Soldiers, and be made a Subject of common Discourse.

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HE afterwards retir'd to his own Apartment, and began to reflect on all the Inconveniencies which might result from this Misfortune. He thought on several Expedients, and rejected them again: The Force of his Fancy even tir'd him with Variety, at once representing to him the Remedies and Difficulties attending them. Authors report, that he walk'd about a great Part of the Night, and by mere Accident discover'd at that Time a Place newly plaister'd up, in which *Moteczuma* conceal'd the Treasures of his Father; and that after he had view'd them, he order'd the Place to be stopp'd up again, without suffering any thing to be taken away. I shall not dwell upon the Diversion which this Discovery might give to his Uneasiness, since it appears that it lasted not long, but soon gave Way to that Application of Thought, which ended in a steady Resolution to take those Measures which I am going to relate.

HE sent privately for the most sensible and best affected *Indians* of his Army, of whom he demanded, " If they had observed any Alteration in the Minds of the *Mexicans*, and " in what Esteem the *Spaniards* were at the " present among them?" They answer'd, " That the common People were taken up " with their Festivals made for the Diversion " of the *Spaniards*, whom they reverenc'd, " because they saw them honoured by their " Emperor: But that the Nobility seem'd pen-

" five

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“ five and mysterious; that they had secret
“ Conferences, the Result of which they kept
“ very private.” They said, they had observ’d
some Expressions which admitted a sinister Interpretation; one of which was, *That it would be no difficult Matter to break down the Bridges of the Causey*, with others of the same Kind, which all together gave sufficient Cause of Suspicion. Two or three of those *Indians* heard it whisper’d, that some few Days before, a *Spaniard’s* Head was brought as a Present to *Motezuma*; and that he commanded it to be taken away and conceal’d, after he had view’d it with some Astonishment, it being of a very large Size, and the Face of a fierce Aspect, Marks which agreed very well with that of *Juan de Arguillo*. This redoubled the Uneasiness of *Cortes*; for hence it appear’d, that *Motezuma* was privy to the Proceedings of his General.

UPON these Advices, and the Reflections he afterwards made thereupon, he shut himself up the next Morning with his Captains, and some principal Soldiers, who, upon Account of their Merit or Experience, were wont to assist at the *Juntas*, where he laid the Case, with all its Circumstances, before them, and acquainted them what Information he had receiv’d the Night before from his trusty *Indians*, weighing with great Sedateness of Temper, the Danger with which they were threaten’d: He touch’d with great Address upon the Difficulties which

might occur; and then, without shewing which Way his own Sentiment inclin'd, he was silent, and gave them free Liberty to discuss the Affair.

THEY were of different Opinions: Some were for desiring *Motezuma's* Passport, and marching immediately to the Relief of *Vera-Cruz*: Others found great Difficulties in the Retreat, and were for going off privately, without forgetting the Riches they had acquir'd. But the greatest Part were of Opinion, that they should continue in *Mexico*, without seeming to have any Knowledge of what had pass'd at *Vera-Cruz*, till they could find some Means to retreat with Safety. But *Cortes*, recapitulating the several Proposals had been made, and highly commending the Zeal with which they had all endeavour'd to hit the Point, delivered himself thus:

I can by no means agree to that Proposition of desiring a Passport from Motezuma; for after having open'd the Way to his Court with our Arms, in Spite of all Opposition, we must unavoidably sink very low in the Opinion of the Mexicans, when once it shall be known, that we stand in Need of their Favour to retire. If Motezuma has ill Designs against us, he may grant the Passport, with no other View than to destroy us in our Retreat; and if he should deny it, then we shall be obliged to march out by Force, and expose ourselves
to

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to a certain Danger, after having declared our Weakness. Much less am I of Opinion, that we should offer to retreat by Stealth, for by so doing, we shall at once brand ourselves with the infamous Epithet of Fugitives, and Motezuma can, with the greatest Ease imaginable, possess himself of the Passes, by sending Scouts before to give Notice of our March. And in short, in my Opinion, it is by no Means convenient at this Juncture, even to think of retiring; for after what Manner soever we attempt it, it will infallibly be at the Expence of our Reputation; and having once lost our Friends and Confederates, whom that and nothing else engages on our Side, we shall assuredly find ourselves without one Foot of Ground to tread upon with any Security. For these Considerations, I conclude, that they come nearest to the Point who vote for our continuing here, without taking Notice of any thing till we can go off with Honour, and for trying in the mean while what may happen agreeable to that Hope. Both Resolutions, it is true, are equally hazardous, but not equally honourable; and it would be a Misfortune, unworthy of Spaniards, to chuse to die a dishonourable Death, when they have it in their Option, to do the contrary. I make no Question but that it is necessary for us to stand our Ground where we are; the Manner how we shall effect it is what most employs my Thoughts. We are acquainted with the Rumours which

begin to spread among the Mexicans. The Disgrace which has befallen us at Vera-Cruz deserves your serious Reflections; and Arguillo's Head presented to Motezuma, is a plain Indication, that he was no Stranger to the Expedition of his General; nay, his very Silence upon that Article, is a sufficient Reason for us to suspect his Intentions. Therefore upon considering the Whole, I am of Opinion, that in order to maintain ourselves in this City with least Hazard, it will be expedient to resolve upon some great Action, that may give the Indians fresh Cause of Astonishment, and regain what Reputation we have lost in their Esteem by these unfortunate Accidents. To which End, (after having weigh'd other Projects, which would make more Noise than they would produce Effect) I hold it absolutely necessary to seize the Person of Motezuma, and bring him Prisoner to our Quarters. A Resolution which I cannot help thinking will strike Terror into them, and must needs keep them within Bounds, and at the same Time will give us an Opportunity of capitulating after such a Manner both with the King and his Vassals, as may be most for the Honour of our Sovereign, and the common Security. The Pretence of his Imprisonment, according to my Judgment, must be the Death of Arguillo, to which he was privy, and the Breach of the Peace by one of his Generals; with which two Offences we must give him

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to understand we have been acquainted, and for which we demand Satisfaction: For it would be to our Disadvantage to seem ignorant of any Thing which they themselves understand; when they believe us superior to them in every respect, and ignorant of nothing, These and such other Errors of their Imaginations we must encourage, or at least bear with, as extremely favourable to our bold Undertaking. I am very sensible of the Difficulties and Accidents which attend so daring an Enterprize; but great Actions have their Birth from great Dangers; and God will certainly support us, for many are the Wonders (I may venture to say, the evident Miracles) which he hath wrought for us in this Expedition; and why should we not now believe, that this Perseverance of ours is the Effect of his divine Inspiration? His Service is the principal Motive of our Enterprize; and I cannot be persuaded, that he has conducted us thus far by his extraordinary Providence, to plunge us into unsurmountable Difficulties, and in our greatest Necessity to abandon us to our own Weakness.

HE enlarg'd with so much Energy upon this pious Consideration, that he communicated to the whole Council the Vigour of his own Spirit, and brought them over to his Opinion; first the Captains, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, *Diego de Ordaz*, with *Gonzalo de Sandoval*,

and then all the rest applauded the judicious Arguments of their General, and judg'd the Goodness of the Remedy, by the heroick Gallantry of the Resolution. Upon this Foot the *Junta* broke up, having resolv'd upon the Imprisonment of *Moteczuma*, and leaving the Management of the Whole to the Discretion of *Cortes*.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, who loses no Opportunity of introducing himself as the Author of all great Resolutions, affirms, that he, and some other Soldiers, advis'd the Imprisonment of *Moteczuma*, some Days before they had received any Intelligence of what had happen'd at *Vera-Cruz*: But other Relations do not agree with his, nor was there Occasion, at that Juncture, to enter upon a Project of so violent a Nature. He should have kept himself within Bounds a little longer, and then his Advice would not have appear'd so improbable, and so much out of Season.

C H A P. XIX.

The Imprisonment of Motezuma: An Account after what Manner it was effected, and how receiv'd amongst his Vassals.

IT must be acknowledg'd, that this Resolution of a few *Spaniards*, to seize so powerful a Prince in his own Court, amidst all his Guards, was a Boldness without Example. The Recital of this Action, tho' true, seems wholly incompatible with the Sincerity of History, and even in a Romance would surpass the Exaggerations and the Licence of Fable itself. It might have been call'd Temerity, had it been undertaken spontaneously, and with a greater Liberty of Choice: But a Man is not properly term'd rash, who shuts his Eyes to a Danger which he cannot avoid. *Cortes* saw himself equally lost if he made a Retreat, which would ruin his Reputation, or stood his Ground without retrieving his fading Honour by some extraordinary Exploit. The Mind, when it finds itself surrounded on all Sides with Difficulties, violently flies to that which least presses it; but the Method taken by *Cortes*, was in Truth the most difficult; whether he was resolv'd to end this Affair, one Way or other, at a Blow, or because he could not accommodate himself to Measures of a middle Nature.

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We may say, that it was great Magnanimity in him to elevate his Views so high, or that Military Prudence is not such an Enemy to Extremes as Civil: But better it is, that this Resolution of his should pass without a Name, or that, only regarding the Success, we place it among those imperceptible Means which God made Use of in this Conquest; excluding, in Appearance, all natural Causes or Impulses.

THE Hour when the *Spaniards* were accustomed to wait upon *Moteczuma* was chosen for the Execution of their Design, that no Alarm might be given by their making him an unseasonable Visit. *Cortes* gave Orders to his Men to arm themselves in their Quarters, to saddle their Horses, and to hold themselves in a Readiness, without making any Noise or Movement till they receiv'd fresh Instructions. He possess'd himself of all the Avenues of the Streets leading to *Moteczuma's* Palace, with small scatter'd Detachments of Soldiers, and went to the Palace, accompany'd by the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, *Francisco de Lugo*, and *Alonso Davila*, having order'd Thirty private Men of his own chusing to follow at a Distance.

It was no surprizing Sight to see them enter with their Arms, which they usually carry'd as a Military Ornament. *Moteczuma*, as customary, came out of his Apartment to receive the

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the Visit, and they all took their Seats. His Servants, as by his Order they were always accusom'd to do, retir'd to another Part of the Palace; and when *Donna Marina* and *Gerónimo Aguilar* were come up, *Cortes* began his Complaint with a becoming Resentment. First he laid before *Moteczuma* the Action of his General, who had the Insolence to form an Army, and attack his Confederates, in Violation of the Peace, and Royal Safeguard, under which they thought themselves secure. Then he urg'd as a Crime, for which he ought to make Satisfaction to God and Man, the spilling the Blood of a *Spaniard* by the *Mexicans*, after they had made him Prisoner, to revenge upon him, in cold Blood, the Ignominy of their own shameful Defeat. And lastly, he expos'd in proper Colours, as a Point of still greater Consideration, the Excuse made by *Qualpopoca*, and his Captains, who declar'd they had undertaken that unjustifiable War by the Emperor's express Order: Concluding, That he thought he ow'd so much to his Majesty, as not to give Credit to an Action so unworthy of his Greatness, as that of favouring the *Spaniards* in one Place, while he was endeavouring to destroy them in another.

MOTEZUMA chang'd Colour at the hearing of this Charge; and with all the Marks of Conviction interrupted *Cortes*, denying, as well as he could, that he had ever given any such Orders: But *Cortes* reliev'd his Confusion

sion by saying, " That he did believe it to be
 " undoubtedly true, and was fully convinc'd,
 " that he had no Hand in so base an Action;
 " but that the *Spaniards* would not be so sa-
 " tisfied, nor even his own Vassals be unde-
 " ceiv'd after such a Declaration of his Ge-
 " neral, unless they saw him give some extra-
 " ordinary Proof of what he affirm'd, that
 " might intirely efface the Impression of such
 " a Calumny; and that therefore he was come
 " to intreat him, that, without making any
 " Disturbance, but as if it was his own spon-
 " taneous Choice, he would immediately go
 " with him to the *Spanish* Quarters, with a Re-
 " solution not to stir from thence till it should
 " be made apparent to all, that he had not
 " been concern'd in so perfidious an Action. "

To which Purpose he represented to him,
 " That by this generous Confidence, so well
 " becoming a Princely Mind, he would not
 " only appease the just Resentment of the great
 " Monarch whose Servant he was, and the
 " Jealousy of his Companions and Followers;
 " but that it would redound to his own Ho-
 " nour, which at present suffer'd a great Eclipse;
 " giving his Word, both as a Gentleman, and
 " a Minister to the most powerful Monarch in
 " the Universe, that he should be treated
 " amongst the *Spaniards* with all the Respect
 " due to his Royal Character; since they only
 " desir'd to be secure of his good Will, that
 " they might have it in their Power to serve
 " and

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“ and obey him with the greater Veneration.” Here *Cortes* left off speaking, and *Moteczuma* likewise remain’d silent for some Moments, as amaz’d at the Boldness of the Proposal. But *Cortes*, desirous to reduce him by Gentleness, before he would determine on other Ways, added, “ That the Quarters he had been pleas’d
“ to assign them, were in one of his Majesty’s
“ own Royal Palaces, where sometimes he was
“ wont to pass a few Days : That it could not
“ seem strange to his Subjects, that he should
“ change his Residence to clear himself of a
“ Fault, which, being plac’d to his Account,
“ would be the Complaint of one King against
“ another ; whereas if it remain’d on his General,
“ it might be redress’d by a proper
“ Correction, without pushing things to those
“ Extremities and Violences, which generally
“ attend the Decision of Quarrels which happen
“ between Sovereigns.”

MOTEZUMA could no longer suffer *Cortes* to enlarge upon Motives to persuade him to a Thing which he judg’d impracticable ; and letting him know, he understood what it was he aim’d at by such a Proposition, reply’d with some Impatience, “ That Princes of his Rank
“ were not accusom’d to deliver themselves
“ up to a Prison, nor would his Subjects permit it, tho’ he should forget his own Dignity so far, and stoop to so base a Compliance.” To which *Cortes* answer’d ; “ That
“ provided he went willingly, without obliging
“ ing

“ ing the *Spaniards* to forget the Respect they
 “ had for him, he valu’d not the Opposition
 “ of his Subjects, against whom he could em-
 “ ploy a sufficient Force, without any Breach
 “ of their mutual Amity.” The Dispute lasted
 long, *Moteczuma* still refusing to leave his Pa-
 lace, and *Cortes* endeavouring to persuade and
 secure him without proceeding to Extremities.
Moteczuma made several Offers, being sensible
 of the Hazard to which he was expos’d : He pro-
 pos’d to send immediately for *Qualpopoca*, and
 all his Officers, and give them up to *Cortes*
 to be chastiz’d as he should think proper : He
 offer’d Two of his Sons as Hostages, to be sent
 Prisoners to the *Spanish* Quarters, till such
 Time as he should perform his Promise ; and
 repeated, with some Signs of Weakness, “ That
 “ he was not a Person who could hide him-
 “ self, or flee to the Mountains.” *Cortes* ap-
 prov’d none of these Expedients ; and *Mote-
 zuma* refus’d to surrender himself : But the
 Captains, who were present at this Dispute,
 suspecting the Danger that might ensue by this
 Delay, began to lose Patience, intimating, that
 they must decide the Question by Action ; and
Juan Velasquez de Leon said aloud, *Let us
 leave off talking, and either seize or kill
 him.* *Moteczuma* took Notice of those Words,
 which were utter’d with great Passion, and de-
 manded of *Donna Marina*, What it was that
Spanish Captain spoke with so much Vech-
 mence ? And she, with a Discretion which
 never

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never fail'd her upon Occasion, reply'd in such a Manner as if she apprehended being over-heard by the *Spaniards*; *My Lord, You run a great Hazard by not giving Way to the Instances of these People: You already know their Resolution, and the supernatural Power that assists them. I am your own Loyal Subject; my Thoughts have no other Employment than to do you Service, and I am likewise one of their Confidants, well acquainted with the Secret of their Intentions. If you go with them, you will be treated with all the Respect that is due to your Person and Dignity; and by resisting longer, you endanger your Life.*

THIS short Speech, deliver'd with Address, and well-tim'd, prevail'd on *Moteczuma*; who, without entring into any fresh Contests, rose from his Seat, and said to the *Spaniards*, " I trust myself into your Hands: Let us go to your Quarters, for so the Gods will have it, since you have carried your Point, and I am determin'd." He presently call'd for his Servants, and commanded them to get ready his Chair and Equipage; and told his Ministers, " That for certain Reasons of State, which he had concerted with his Gods, he had resolv'd to pass some Days in the *Spanish* Quarters: That they should understand, and publish to all his Subjects, that he went of his own Accord, and for his own Advantage." He then gave Orders to one of the

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the Captains of his Guards, to bring *Qualpopoca* Prisoner, with the other Officers concern'd in the Invasion of *Zempoala*; to which Purpose he gave him the Royal Signet, which he always carry'd ty'd to his Right Arm, and bad him take Troops along with him, that he might make sure of apprehending the Criminals. All these Orders were given publickly, and *Donna Marina* explain'd them to *Cortes*, and the rest of the *Spanish* Captains, that they might not take Umbrage upon hearing him talk to his Servants, or commit any unseasonable Act of Violence.

HE left his Palace without any more Delay, taking with him all his usual Attendants: The *Spaniards* marched on Foot close by his Chair, surrounding it under Pretence of waiting on him. A Report was presently spread about the City, that the Strangers had carry'd off the Emperor; and the Streets were crowded in an Instant, with an Appearance of a general Insurrection; for they made great Outcries, throwing themselves upon the Ground like Men in Despair; and some discover'd the Tenderness of their Concern by their Tears: But *Motezuma*, with an Air of Gaiety and Composure, appeas'd the Tumult, and satisfy'd them in some measure. He commanded them to cease their Cries; and at the first Motion of his Hand a profound Silence ensu'd. He then told them, " That he was not going to a Prison, " but, for his own Diversion, to pass a few
" Days

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“ Days with his Friends the Strangers ;” and this answering a Question before it was ask'd, confirm'd what he endeavour'd to disown. When he arriv'd at the Quarters, which, as we have observ'd, were in a Palace built by his Father, he gave Orders for his Guards to disperse the Populace, and to his Ministers to publish, that it should be Death for any one to occasion the least Tumult or Disturbance. He courteously caress'd the *Spanish* Soldiers, who went out to receive him with respectful Joy. The Palace being sufficiently large and convenient to receive him, and all his Retinue, he pitch'd upon an Apartment, separate from the *Spaniards*, to reside in, which was instantly furnish'd by his own Servants with the best Moveables of his Wardrobe ; and *Cortes* plac'd a sufficient Guard of *Spanish* Soldiers at the Avenues, and doubled those of the Quarters, posting Centinels in the nearest Streets, and omitting no Precaution which an Action of that Consequence requir'd. Orders were given to the Soldiers to permit the Entrance of those of the Emperor's Retinue, (who were now all known) as likewise of the Nobility and Ministers who came to make their Court, with Reserve to admit but a certain Number in the Room of others who went out, under Pretext of keeping his Majesty from being crowded. *Cortes* went to visit him the same Evening, first asking Leave, and observing the same Formalities and Ceremonies as when he waited on him in his

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Imperial Palace. The like Respect was shew'd him by the Officers and Soldiers of Distinction: They all gave him humble Thanks for the Honour he did that House, as if he came thither by his own Choice; and he was as chearful and pleasant to all, as if none were present who had been Witnesses of the Resistance he would have made. He distributed amongst them several Jewels with his own Hand, which he brought on purpose to shew his good Humour; and for all that could be observ'd, either in his Behaviour or Expressions, he never once discover'd the least Weakness under his Confinement, nor ceas'd to maintain the Grandeur of an Emperor in the Constancy with which he endeavour'd to unite those two incompatible Extremes, Majesty and Dependency. To none of his Servants or Ministers, whose Attendance at all Hours was permitted, did he discover the Secret of his Confinement; either for that he was asham'd to own it, or that he fear'd the Loss of his Life, if they should make the least Disturbance. At that Time this Retirement was regarded by all as his own voluntary Resolution; for which Reason, the Presumption of the *Spaniards* was not so much as talk'd of, being indeed so great, that it was conceal'd by the very Excess of it, as a Thing impossible, and exceeding the Bounds of Imagination itself.

Thus

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THUS was *Moteczuma's* Imprisonment contriv'd and executed, and in a few Days he became so easy, that he had scarce any Inclination to change his Condition. Nevertheless; his Subjects discover'd at length, that the *Spaniards* had him under Confinement, notwithstanding they carefully disguis'd the Violence they were guilty of, under the specious Mask of a profound Respect. The Guards which were constantly posted at the Avenues of the Emperor's Apartment, and the *Spaniards* being continually under Arms in the Quarters, left them no Room for Doubt; but no one made the least Offer to treat concerning his Liberty: Nor is it to be imagin'd what Reasons they had; he to continue under that Oppression without any Reluctance, and they to live in the same Insensibility, without shewing any Concern at the Dishonour done to the Person of their Emperor. The Boldness of the *Spaniards* was very surprizing; nor less remarkable was this Meanness of Spirit in *Moteczuma*, a Prince so puissant, and naturally of so haughty a Disposition, together with the Want of Resolution which then appear'd in the *Mexicans*, a warlike Nation, and excessively zealous in supporting the Dignity of their Sovereigns. We may therefore safely venture to say, that the Hand of God was upon their Hearts; nor will this appear to be a superstitious Credulity, or any great Novelty in his Divine Providence, since the World has long ago

seen an Example of His forwarding the Undertakings of His own People, by subduing the Spirit of their Enemies.*

C H A P. XX.

Moteczuma's Behaviour under his Confinement, both to his own People and the Spaniards. Qualpopoca is brought Prisoner, and condemned to Death by Cortes, who causes Moteczuma to be put in Fetters, during the Execution of the Sentence.

THE Spaniards, in few Days, saw their Quarters converted into a Palace, without omitting to guard it, as the Prison of *Moteczuma*. The Surprize of this daring Action abated insensibly amongst the *Mexicans*, with the Novelty of it. Some, disapproving the War made by *Qualpopoca* upon *Vera-Cruz*, commended the Procedure of *Moteczuma*, and imputed it to the Greatness of his Soul that he parted with his Liberty as a Pledge of his Innocence. Others believed, that the Gods, with whom they supposed him to have frequent Communication, had advised him to that which

* Joshua, Chap. V. Verse 1.

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was most convenient, and would most redound to his Advantage. And others (who did better) acquiesc'd intirely in his Resolution, without being so presumptuous as to examine into it, well knowing that the Determinations of Sovereign Princes concern the Duty, and not the Understanding of their Vassals. He discharged the Functions of a Sovereign at the usual Hours; gave Audiences; heard the Advice and Representations of his Ministers; and apply'd himself to the Civil and Military Government of his Kingdoms, taking particular Care to conceal his involuntary Confinement.

His Table was served from his Palace with a numerous Attendance of Servants, and greater Abundance than usual: The Overplus was distributed among the *Spanish* Soldiers; and he constantly sent Dishes of the greatest Delicacy to *Cortes* and his Captains, all whom he could call by their respective Names, and he had study'd even their several Humours and Dispositions, and knew how to make a proper Use of his Observations in conversing with them, and would at Times season his Discourse with Pleasantry, in such a Manner as was no Way inconsistent either with Majesty or Decorum. All the Time that he was disengag'd from Business, he past among the *Spaniards*; and was wont to say, That he was not himself without them. Every one endeavoured to please him, and the Respect with which they treated him, gave him great Satisfaction. Freedoms

and ill Manners extremely disgusted him; and if any one happen'd to be faulty that Way, he made the Offender understand that it shock'd him, and that he was sensible of his being ill us'd: So jealous was he of his Dignity, that he resented, with an extreme Indignation, somewhat done in his Presence by a *Spaniard*, with Design, as he thought, to affront him, and desir'd the Captain of the Guard to employ that Soldier at a greater Distance from his Person, or order him to be punish'd, if he again offer'd to appear before him.

SOME Evenings he us'd to play with *Cortes* at *Tololoque*, which is a Game with little Balls of Gold with which they endeavour'd to strike down certain small Pins of the same Metal, at a proportionable Distance: They play'd for Jewels, or other Curiosities, which were lost or won upon Five Marks. *Moteczuma* distributed his Winnings amongst the *Spaniards*, and *Cortes* gave his to the Emperor's inferior Officers. He would sometimes rally *Pedro de Alvarado*, who counted for them, for his marking in Favour of *Cortes*, and reproach'd him after a pleasant Manner, for being a bad Reckoner; nevertheless he desired him at other times to mark, and take Care to keep a fair Account. He preserved the Sentiments of a Prince, even at Play; regarding the Loss as an Effect of Hazard, and the Gain as a Reward of Victory.

THEY

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THEY did not omit in those private Conversations to introduce the Subject of Religion. *Cortes* discoursed him several times, endeavouring with Gentleness to make him sensible of his Error. Fryar *Bartolemeo de Olmedo* seconded his Arguments with the like Piety, but with far greater Energy. *Donna Marina* very carefully interpreted these Discourses, adding her own private Reasons, as a Person newly undeceived, who had still fresh in her Memory the Motives which converted her: But the Devil had got such an Ascendant over his Mind, that he suffered his own natural Reason to be so enslav'd, that no Arguments were of Force enough to touch his obdurate Heart. It was not known whether he had a Communication with the Devil, or whether he continued to appear to him as usual, after the *Spaniards* arrived at *Mexico*; on the contrary, it was believed as certain, that from the first Appearance of the *Cross* of *Christ* in that City, all those infernal Invocations lost their Force, and the Oracles became silent. But that deluded Prince was so blind and abandon'd to his Errors, that he had no manner of Inclination to relinquish them, or to advantage himself by the Light which was set before him: This Hardness of Heart was perhaps the miserable Effect of his other Vices and Enormities, with which he had displeased God; or a Chastisement for that very Negligence with which he lent an Ear, without submitting to the Truth.

AFTER Twenty Days, or somewhat more, the Captain of the Guard, who had been sent to the Frontier of *Vera-Cruz*, returned, bringing *Qualpopaca*, and other Captains of the Army Prisoners, who upon Sight of the Royal Signet, had surrender'd themselves without Resistance. The Prisoners were conducted into the Apartment of *Moteczuma*, who, by the Permission of *Cortes*, spoke to them, but with Reserve; for he was desirous they should conceal the Order he had given them, and suffer themselves to be deceived by this exterior Shew of Confidence which he seemed to repose in them. The Captain himself went afterwards with them to the Apartment of *Cortes*, to whom he delivered them, saying on the Part of his Master, " That he had sent them to him, that " he might find out the Truth, and, at his own " Discretion, inflict upon them what Punishment he thought they deserved." *Cortes* shut himself up with them, and they presently pleaded Guilty to all their Charges, acknowledging, *That they had violated the Peace of their own Authority; had provoked the Spaniards of Vera-Cruz with their Hostilities, and had procur'd the Death of Arguillo, kill'd by their Order in cold Blood, tho' a Prisoner of War.* All this they confessed without once mentioning that they had any Commission for so doing from *Moteczuma*, till perceiving that the Punishment they had been threaten'd with was going to be inflicted, they endeavoured to
bring

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bring him in for an Accomplice, in order to save their Lives: But *Cortes* utterly refus'd to give Ear to that Evasion, treating it as a mere Chimera and Invention of theirs, merely to excuse themselves. They were judged by a Court Martial, and received Sentence of Death, with the Circumstance of having their Bodies publickly burned before the Royal Palace, as Criminals who had incurred the Penalty of High Treason. Measures were immediately taken for the Execution, it being thought necessary not to delay it: But *Cortes* fearing *Moteczuma's* Resentment, and that he might endeavour to defend those who were to die for having executed his Orders, resolved to terrify him, by some daring Action, which should have threatening Appearances, and remind him of the Subjection in which he was. To this Purpose he bethought himself of another bold Stroke, to which he was certainly induc'd by the great Facility with which he depriv'd him of his Liberty, and the unexpected Patience with which he bore his Confinement. He ordered some of those Fetters to be brought which they us'd to carry with them for Criminals, and with those, carry'd openly in the Hands of a Soldier, *Cortes* came into the Presence of *Moteczuma*, and with him came *Donna Marina*, and Three or Four of his Captains. He did not omit the Respects with which he was wont to accost him; but raising his Voice, and

and with more Earnestness in his Countenance than ordinary, he told him, "That *Qualpopaca*, and the other Delinquents, now condemned to suffer Death, had confess'd their Crime, and had been found deserving of the Sentence; but added, that they had accused him, affirming they had acted wholly by his Orders; and that therefore it was necessary he should expiate for those strong Presumptions by some personal Mortification: And that Kings, tho' they were not liable to ordinary Punishments, were yet subject to a superior Law, which commands Crowns, and ought, in some Respects, to imitate the Guilty, when they found themselves culpable, and were desirous to satisfy Divine Justice." Having said this, he commanded, with an Air of Authority and Resolution, that they should put *Motezuma* in Fetters, without suffering any Reply; and leaving him in that Condition, turned his Back, and retired to his Apartment, giving fresh Orders to his Guards, that for the present they should not suffer him to have any Manner of Communication with his Ministers.

So great was the Astonishment of *Motezuma*, to see himself treated with so much Ignominy, that at first he wanted Force to resist, and afterwards Speech to complain. He remained a good while like one insensible; and his Servants who attended him, accompany'd

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pany'd his Grief with Lamentation, without presuming to speak; throwing themselves at his Feet, to bear the Weight of his Fetters. He recovered from his first Confusion and Amazement, and began to break out into Impatience, but soon put a Curb upon himself; and attributing the unhappy Circumstances to which he was reduced, to the Will of his Gods, waited the Event, not without Apprehensions that his Life was in Danger: But soon recalling to mind who he was, he intrepidly expected his Fate.

CORTES lost no Time in the Execution of what he had resolved upon. The Criminals were brought forth to receive their Punishment; all necessary Precautions having first been taken, to prevent any Opposition that might be made. The Execution was performed in Sight of an innumerable Concourse of People, not so much as one disorderly Voice being heard, nor was there the least Ground for Jealousy. The People were seized with a Terror, which was mixed with Admiration and Respect. They greatly wondered at the Authority those Strangers assum'd, who, at the most, ought to have behav'd themselves only as Ambassadors from another Prince: But they did not presume to call their Power in question, seeing it was establish'd with their own Sovereign's Approbation, which was the Reason that they flock'd in Crowds to behold
that

that Spectacle, with a Kind of mortify'd Sedateness, which, without knowing in what it consisted, gave way to Fear. It was of great Help, on this Occasion, that the Invasion of *Qualpopoca* was ill received among the *Mexicans*, and that he had aggravated his Crime, and render'd it far more horrible, by having had the Presumption to charge his Sovereign as an Accomplice, which pass'd as a Thing incredible, and even had the Accusation been true, would have been look'd upon as insolent and seditious. This Execution must be regarded as the Third bold Action of *Cortes*, which was effected, as has been observed, upon very irregular Principles. He determined upon it, because he thought it convenient, and not impossible. He knew the Genius of the People he had to deal with, and was no Stranger to the Value of the great Pledge he had in his Power, whatsoever might happen. Let us suffer ourselves to be blinded by the Plausibleness of his Reasons, or at least not bring them into Judgment in the History, contenting ourselves with relating the Fact as it pass'd, which, after being executed, proved of great Consequence for the Security of the *Spaniards* at *Vera Cruz*, and stifled at that Time, those Rumours which began to disturb the *Mexican* Nobility.

CORTES immediately returned to the Emperor's Apartment, and, with a chearful Countenance, courteously address'd him, saying,
 " The

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“ The Traytors, My Lord, who have been
“ so bold as to blemish your Character, have
“ received condign Punishment; and you your-
“ self have sufficiently comply’d with your
“ Obligation, by submitting to the Justice of
“ God, with this little Intermiſſion of your
“ Liberty.” Then immediately he ordered the
Fetters to be taken off, or (as some Authors
report) he put himself on his Knees, and took
them off with his own Hands: And it is pro-
bable, from his usual Presence of Mind, that
he might endeavour, with such a Piece of
Courtesy, to give a greater Recommendation
to the Redress of his ill Treatment. *Mote-
zuma* received this Part of his Liberty with a
tumultuous Joy. He embraced *Cortes* two
or three times, and seemed as if he would
never have done with his thankful Acknow-
ledgments.

THEY both sat down, and entered into
amicable Conversation, and *Cortes* us’d ano-
ther Piece of Policy with him, being what he
was continually meditating upon; for he or-
dered all the Guards to retire, and gave him
to understand, that whenever he pleased, he
might return to his Palace, the Cause of his
Detention being now remov’d. This Offer
he made him, as being very sure he would
not accept it; for he had frequently heard him
firmly and resolutely declare, That it was by
no means convenient for him to think of re-
turning

turning to his Palace, or of leaving the *Spaniards*, till such Time as they should retire from his Court; for that he should greatly suffer in his Reputation, when it should be known amongst his Vassals, that he had received his Liberty from the Hand of another. A Thought which has been since father'd upon *Motezuma* as his own; but was indeed inspired into him by *Donna Marina*, and some Captains; at the Instance of *Cortes*, who made Use of his own Reason of State, to hold him more secure in Prison. But at this Time, *Motezuma* knowing what *Cortes* meant by that Offer, quitted the first Motive as foreign to his present Purpose, and made Use of another more artful; for he answered, "That he was
 " very much obliged to him for the Intention
 " he had to restore him to his Palace; but
 " that he had taken a Resolution to continue
 " where he was, out of Regard to the *Spaniards*;
 " for he knew very well, that as soon
 " as he should be in his Palace, his Nobility and
 " Ministers would press him to take up Arms
 " against them, for a Satisfaction of the Wrong
 " he had receiv'd." By these Means he desir'd they should understand, that he was contented to remain in Prison for their Security, and to protect them with his Authority. *Cortes* prais'd his Design, and made Acknowledgments for the Care he had of them, as if he intirely believed all he said. They both remained satisfy'd with their dexterous Management, believing

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lieving they understood each other perfectly well; and, for their mutual Conveniency, suffer'd themselves to be deceived with that Sort of Cunning, or Dissimulation, which Politicians place among the Mysteries of Prudence, bestowing the Name of Virtue upon that which indeed is nothing but Artifice and Policy.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.



living they understood each other perfectly well, and for their mutual convenience, feared themselves to be deceived with that sort of cunning or dissimulation, which Politicians place among the Mysteries of Prudence, bestowing the Name of Virtue upon that which indeed is nothing but Ambition and Policy.

The End of the First Volume.

